OCTOBER 16, 2017

TIME

COLUMBINE
BINGHAMTON
SAN BERNARDINO

EDMOND
SAN YSIDRO
KILLEEN
SANDY HOOK
VIRGINIA TECH
ORLANDO

LAS VEGAS

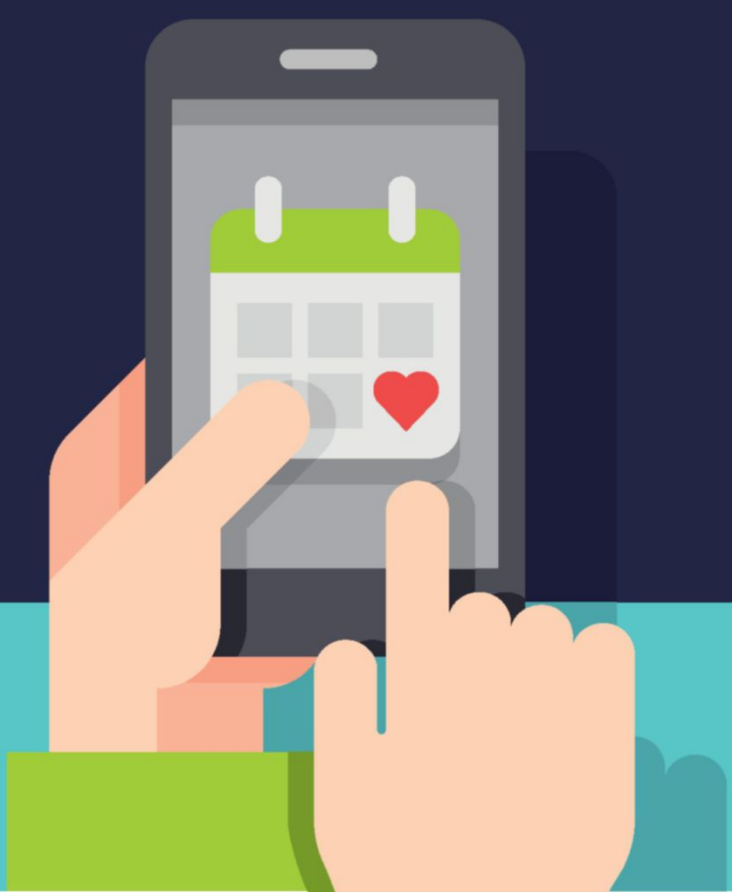
AMERICA'S NIGHTMARE

To end disease tomorrow, begin with Trials Today.

Researchers across the country are getting closer and closer to unlocking the science that can lead to cures. But they need you. Health care can't advance unless people like you volunteer to participate in trials. That's why there's ResearchMatch Trials Today, a new way to search for clinical trials at the non-profit ResearchMatch.org.

When you use ResearchMatch to find a trial, you just might help a researcher find a cure.

Trials Today
at researchmatch.org



TIME
VOL. 190, NO. 15 | 2017

2 | Conversation
6 | For the Record

The Brief

News from the U.S. and around the world

9 | **Neil Gorsuch** acts as if he's been on the U.S. Supreme Court for years

11 | **Spain** faces a constitutional crisis with defiant Catalonia

12 | Ian Bremmer: The danger of tinkering with the **Iran deal**

14 | Remembering rock singer **Tom Petty**

The View

Ideas, opinion, innovations

17 | What athletes stand to lose as the feds probe **NCAA** basketball coaches

19 | **Canadian Thanksgiving**'s American roots

19 | **Bjarke Ingels** designs a campus for Dubai's space program

20 | **China** wants to lead the charge on battery manufacturing

The Features

American Tragedy
The deadliest mass shooting in recent U.S. history renews questions about drawing the line on gun rights *By Philip Elliott and Haley Sweetland Edwards* **22**

Puerto Rico's Future
Maria laid waste to the U.S. territory but also gave the troubled island a chance at a fresh start
By Karl Vick **32**

Breast-Cancer Awareness
How care is becoming more personalized *By Alice Park and Alexandra Sifferlin* **40**

Ron Chernow's *Grant*
The biographer discusses his new book on the 18th U.S. President
By Lily Rothman **48**

Time Off

What to watch, read, see and do

53 | Q&A with ***Blade Runner*** sequel director Denis Villeneuve

56 | ***The Florida Project,*** a magic kingdom

57 | ***Will & Grace*** returns to the small screen

58 | **Jennifer Egan**'s latest novel

59 | **Susanna Schrobsdorff:** How to help victims of mass tragedies

60 | 6 Questions—illustrated—by cartoonist **Roz Chast**

A man waits near a damaged bridge in Morovis, P.R., on Oct. 1

Photograph by Andres Kudacki for TIME

ON THE COVER: The deadliest mass shootings in modern American history, based on a database collected by Mother Jones; the incidents date back to 1982 and include only indiscriminate shootings that occurred in public places

TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published by Time Inc. weekly, except for two skipped weeks in January and one skipped week in March, May, July, August, September and December due to combined issues. **PRINCIPAL OFFICE:** 225 Liberty Street, New York, NY 10281-1008. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY and additional mailing offices. **POSTMASTER:** Send all UAA to CFS (See DMM 507.1.5.2); **Non-Postal and Military Facilities:** send address corrections to TIME Magazine, P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL 33662-2120. Canada Post Publications Mail Agreement No. 40110178. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to: Postal Station A, P.O. Box 4322, Toronto, Ontario M5W 3G9. GST No. 888381621RT0001. © 2017 Time Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is prohibited. TIME and the Red Border Design are protected through trademark registration in the United States and in the foreign countries where TIME magazine circulates. U.S. Subscriptions: $49 for one year. **SUBSCRIBERS:** If the Postal Service alerts us that your magazine is undeliverable, we have no further obligation unless we receive a corrected address within two years. Your bank may provide updates to the card information we have on file. You may opt out of this service at any time. **CUSTOMER SERVICE AND SUBSCRIPTIONS:** For 24/7 service, visit ***time.com/customerservice.*** You can also call 1-800-843-TIME; write to TIME, P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL, 33662-2120; or email ***privacy@time.customersvc.com.*** **MAILING LIST:** We make a portion of our mailing list available to reputable firms. If you would prefer that we not include your name, please call or write us. **PRINTED IN THE U.S.** ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆

What you said about ...

WHY HE ALWAYS BOUNCES BACK The cover for Alex Altman and Sean Gregory's Oct. 9 story, about President Trump's clash with NFL players kneeling during the national anthem, connected with Tom Walker of Carmichael, Calif., who wrote that the image of the President as a tackling dummy "says it all." Darrell Reeves, a veteran also from Carmichael, argued that the NFL will be hurt by the dispute; he's boycotted the Seattle Seahawks this season because he sees protests as a "slap in the face to every veteran who has served our great nation." But Andrew Busakowski of Crystal Falls, Mich., defended the players, saying that a White House official quoted in the piece who called the anthem a reminder that the U.S. is "one nation, under God" must have "forgotten the last part of the pledge—with liberty and justice for all."

> 'One way to escape from all this doom and gloom is to turn to sports.'
>
> **BRIAN DAVIDSON,** Dryden, Ontario

WHAT HAPPENED Susanna Schrobsdorff's Sept. 25 take on *What Happened,* Hillary Clinton's memoir about the 2016 U.S. presidential election, prompted readers to share their own theories about "what happened." Some felt that Clinton's liabilities, such as her use of a private email server, played a larger role than Schrobsdorff acknowledged, but Yvonne Schwab of Huntington Beach, Calif., hailed the "insightful" discussion of factors that hold women back. JoAnn Bradley of Creston, Iowa, was "so very happy" the piece stayed away from what she called "nasty comments about anything and everything Hillary does," but not everyone was so enthused. Larry Kinkela of Sterling Heights, Mich., said he voted for Clinton but "wasn't excited about it."

> 'Americans are completely ready for a female President. Just not THAT female.'
>
> **DEBORA BACA,** Las Vegas

EYEWITNESS On TIME.com, hear from David Becker, a photographer who was covering the concert in Las Vegas, about what it was like to be there during the deadliest mass shooting in modern U.S. history. As the tragedy unfolded, he began to take pictures, he says, "thinking to myself, still, that this isn't really happening, it's just the speakers popping." Read the full story at **time.com/las-vegas-photographer**

BONUS *TIME* HISTORY

Subscribe to TIME's free history newsletter and **get the stories behind the news, plus a curated selection of highlights from our archives.** For more, **visit time.com/email**

PHOTO CONTEST *Travel + Leisure,* a Time Inc. publication, is accepting entries for its 2017 photo contest; this year's grand prize is a trip to Thailand. The photo at right, taken by Chris King in Maui's Molokini Crater, was a 2016 finalist. Details at **travelandleisure.com/photos**

TALK TO US

SEND AN EMAIL:
letters@time.com
Please do not send attachments

FOLLOW US:
facebook.com/time
@time (Twitter and Instagram)

Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

Back Issues Contact us at help.single@customersvc.com or call 1-800-274-6800. **Reprints and Permissions** Information is available at time.com/reprints. To request custom reprints, visit timereprints.com. **Advertising** For advertising rates and our editorial calendar, visit timemediakit.com. **Syndication** For international licensing and syndication requests, visit timeinc.com/syndication.

Please recycle this magazine and remove inserts or samples before recycling

EYEWITNESS: DAVID BECKER—GETTY IMAGES; CONTEST: CHRIS KING

AMERICAN CRUISE LINES

NEWEST FLEET

ALONG THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

BRAND NEW FOR 2018

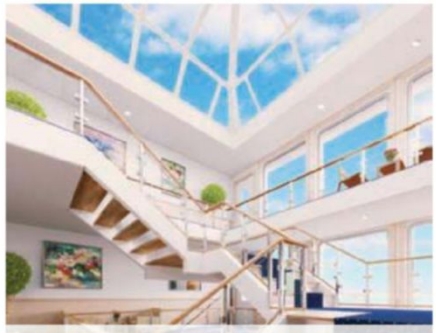
NEW ENGLAND | SOUTHEAST | MISSISSIPPI RIVER | PACIFIC NORTHWEST | ALASKA

Introducing a new class of modern riverboats on the Mississippi river - the first of its kind to combine the contemporary styling of European riverboats with the premium comfort for which American Cruise Lines is known. Design features include the largest staterooms, private balconies, and a four-story atrium.

Experience Small Ship Cruising Done Perfectly.®

LARGEST STATEROOMS

AWARD-WINNING EXCURSIONS



GLASS ATRIUM

World Travel Awards Winner 2016 | 2016 Travel Weekly Magellan Awards Gold Award

Call today for a **FREE** Cruise Guide

1-800-981-9139

AmericanCruiseLines.com

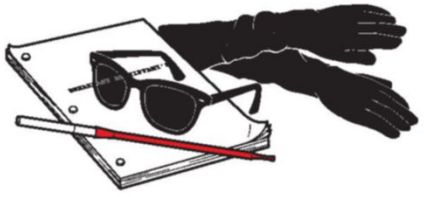
2016 Cruise Travel Traveler Readers' Choice Awards | 2016 Editors' Picks Cruise Critic

'It seems crazy, exciting and bizarre—but that's probably how my life seems to most people.'

CHER, pop star, announcing *The Cher Show,* a musical about her career that will open on Broadway in the fall of 2018

$846,619

Amount of money that the original *Breakfast at Tiffany's* script, annotated by its star Audrey Hepburn, sold for at Christie's in London, setting a record for the highest price paid for a film script at an auction



2024

Year by which SpaceX founder Elon Musk says he will send a manned rocket to Mars

3.95 billion

Age of a rock containing organic material found in Canada's Labrador region, thought to be some of the earliest known life on Earth, according to new research published in the journal *Nature*

'Dr. Seuss's illustrations are steeped in racist propaganda, caricatures and harmful stereotypes.'

LIZ PHIPPS SOEIRO, librarian, explaining why she didn't accept the 10 Dr. Seuss books that First Lady Melania Trump donated to a Cambridge, Mass., elementary school

OSIRIS-REx
The NASA spacecraft took gorgeous photos of Earth en route to asteroid Bennu

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Rex Tillerson
President Trump tweeted that the Secretary of State is wasting time trying to negotiate with North Korea

'I HAD TROUBLE EVEN GETTING MY SHOES ON THIS MORNING.'

MICHAEL YOUNG,
U.S. biologist, on being rattled after getting an early-morning call saying he had won a Nobel Prize in Medicine for his research on biological clocks

'IT WAS JUST A KILL BOX.'

RUSSELL BLECK, 28, describing the scramble amid the barrage of bullets that authorities say Stephen Paddock, 64, fired onto a country concert from the 32nd floor of the Mandalay Bay Resort and Casino in Las Vegas on Oct. 1, killing at least 59 people and injuring more than 520 in the deadliest mass shooting in recent U.S. history

'NO REFERENDUM HAS BEEN HELD IN CATALONIA TODAY.'

MARIANO RAJOY, Prime Minister of Spain, declaring the Catalan independence referendum invalid amid a bloody police crackdown to stop the vote

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: ASSOCIATED PRESS; FOX NEWS; VARIETY

Choosing a Medicare plan doesn't have to be complicated.

UnitedHealthcare® can help guide you through the confusion with helpful people, tools and plans — including the only Medicare plans with the AARP name. Find the Medicare plan for you at **UHCmedicare.com**

Plans are insured through UnitedHealthcare Insurance Company or one of its affiliated companies, a Medicare Advantage organization with a Medicare contract. Enrollment in the plan depends on the plan's contract renewal with Medicare. UnitedHealthcare Insurance Company pays royalty fees to AARP for the use of its intellectual property. These fees are used for the general purposes of AARP. AARP and its affiliates are not insurers. AARP encourages you to consider your needs when selecting products and does not make specific product recommendations for individuals. Y0066_170911_150049 Accepted

AARP | Medicare Plans from UnitedHealthcare

As we continue to swing for the fences, we know that any advancement can have a life-changing impact.

Whatever it takes.

Stand up for the 16 million people living with cancer in the U.S. and Canada. Visit **StandUpToCancer.org/MLB**

STAND UP TO CANCER

Stand Up To Cancer is a division of the Entertainment Industry Foundation (EIF), a 501(c)(3) organization.

Major League Baseball trademarks and copyrights are used with permission of Major League Baseball Properties, Inc. Visit MLB.com

The Brief

'PETTY'S BIGGEST SUCCESSES WERE BORN OF TENACITY AND A STRONG BELIEF IN HIS WORK.' —PAGE 14

Gorsuch, last February, with Senator Mitch McConnell, left, and Vice President Mike Pence, right

THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY IMAGES

NATION

How Neil Gorsuch is shaking up the Supreme Court

By Tessa Berenson

IN ITS NEW TERM, WHICH BEGAN ON Oct. 2, the Supreme Court will consider many pressing questions. Can a baker refuse to make a wedding cake for a same-sex couple? Can states redraw districts to help a political party? And does Justice Neil Gorsuch talk too much?

It didn't take long last spring for the newest member of the court to make his presence known. Gorsuch, a conservative nominated by President Trump, who was confirmed in April, waited just 10 minutes before asking his opening question at his first oral argument. Over the next hour he fired off 21 more, posing more queries during his debut than any of his eight colleagues did at theirs. He blew past Justice Sonia Sotomayor's previous record of 15 questions at her first oral argument, according to Adam Feldman, who runs a blog tracking Supreme Court data. Gorsuch doesn't fit the mold of previous newcomers to the bench. By the court's unwritten rules, new members are often seen more than they are heard. "I think he has ruffled some feathers on the court," says Garrett Epps, a professor at the University of Baltimore School of Law.

He is asserting himself in other ways too. In his first month on the bench, Gorsuch wrote as many separate opinions as Justice Elena Kagan—who joined the court before Gorsuch—wrote in her first two terms. In one, a 7-2 decision about statutory interpretation in which he and Justice Clarence Thomas were the only dissenters, Gorsuch did not mince words. "If a statute needs repair, there's a constitutionally

PHOTOGRAPH BY MELINA MARA

prescribed way to do it," he chided. "It's called legislation." In a religious-liberty case, Gorsuch took on Chief Justice John Roberts, who wrote the majority opinion. In his concurrence, which argues for a broader reading of religious liberty, Gorsuch wrote that, "respectfully," he harbored doubts about an aspect of the chief's opinion. "He has not been shy," says John Malcolm, vice president of the Institute for Constitutional Government at the conservative Heritage Foundation. "He's acting as if he's been sitting on the high court for years."

Gorsuch is drawing criticism for his actions off the bench as well. In September he appeared with Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell at an event in Kentucky, McConnell's home state. The following week Gorsuch gave a speech at the Trump International Hotel in Washington, the symbolic focal point of the President's business entanglements. Progressive activists held a protest outside during his remarks.

All this recalls the nasty political battle that preceded his nomination. He occupies a seat on the court that sat vacant for over a year after Justice Antonin Scalia died in February 2016. President Barack Obama picked Merrick Garland, a moderate liberal, to fill the spot, but congressional Republicans refused to consider the nomination during Obama's final year in office, stalling until Trump was inaugurated and then quickly confirming Gorsuch over objections from Democrats.

At 50, Gorsuch looks poised to cement a conservative majority on the court for a generation. More immediately, he may shape the outcome of some of the most significant cases the court will hear this term. A veteran judge who spent a decade on the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals in Colorado, Gorsuch has already signaled that he's sympathetic to religious-liberty claims, which could put him on the side of the baker who refused to make a wedding cake for a same-sex couple in the case *Masterpiece Cakeshop Ltd. v. Colorado Civil Rights Commission.* And he voted to block a Texas court's ruling that new districts drawn by the state legislature had to be redone, which may provide a clue to his thinking on the gerrymandering case *Gill v. Whitford,* which the court heard on Oct. 3.

In some ways, Gorsuch's style on the bench makes him a natural heir to the voluble jurist he replaced. "From the get-go, Justice Scalia changed the tenor of the court dramatically because he was such an avid question asker," says Carrie Severino, chief counsel of the conservative Judicial Crisis Network. "I know some Justices viewed that a little askance, like, 'Where's this little upstart coming from?'" The forceful manner of the court's new member doesn't make Gorsuch unique, Severino says, adding, "I think that's always how the old guard reacts." □

TICKER

Millions saw shady ads on Facebook

About 10 million people in the U.S. saw politically divisive ads on Facebook bought by Russia-linked accounts in the months before and after last year's U.S. presidential election, the company revealed on Oct. 2. Moscow denied involvement in the ads, which cost $100,000.

U.S. expels Cuban diplomats

The U.S. ordered 15 Cuban diplomats to leave the country, after a series of apparent sonic attacks on the U.S. Embassy in Havana that left at least 21 U.S. diplomats with hearing and vision ailments. The U.S. earlier pulled 60% of its embassy staff from its Cuba mission.

Final report on missing MH 370 jet

In their final report on the incident, Australian investigators said it was "almost inconceivable" that Malaysia Airlines Flight 370, which disappeared with 239 people on board in 2014, had still not been located.

Atlanta votes to decriminalize pot

The Atlanta city council voted to decriminalize marijuana, making the penalty for possession of 1 oz. or less a $75 fine. Elsewhere in Georgia, offenders can still be jailed for six months and fined $1,000.

BUSINESS

The new gold rush for our e-waste

Japanese company Mitsubishi plans to invest about $108 million to expand operations to sift through discarded computers, cell phones and other electronic devices to recycle rare metals such as gold and palladium as global supplies dwindle. Here's what to know. —*Tara John*

WORLD TRADE
Metal producers are turning to recycling urban waste because of conventional mining's high price tag. Currently 700,000 tons of recycled metals are traded a year, set to rise to 1.1 million within a decade.

COST SAVINGS
More valuable metals can be recycled from e-waste in a landfill than can be found in an average mine. The amount of gold in a single ton of printed circuit boards is the same as in 100 tons of gold ore.

GOLD STANDARD
Japan is leading the way in this kind of recycling. Last February organizers of the 2020 Tokyo Olympics said the Games' bronze, silver and gold medals will be forged from recycled urban waste.

DIGITS

110,000

Number of travelers due to be flown home by the British government over two weeks that began Oct. 2, after British company Monarch Airlines declared bankruptcy; officials called it the U.K.'s largest-ever peacetime repatriation mission

FIRED UP Firefighters join demonstrators in Barcelona on Oct. 3 during a daylong strike in the northeastern region of Catalonia to protest Spain's violent crackdown on people attempting to vote in a disputed independence referendum on Oct. 1. Catalan leader Carles Puigdemont has threatened to declare independence after the vote, a move that could provoke Spain to suspend home rule in the region. *Photograph by Manu Fernandez—AP/REX/Shutterstock*

WORLD

Australia has its say on same-sex marriage

AUSTRALIANS ARE VOTING IN A NATIONWIDE poll on legalizing same-sex marriage, called the Marriage Law Postal Survey. Opinion polls suggest the result, expected on Nov. 15, will be in favor of marriage equality, but hurdles remain before that can be legalized.

POSTAL VOTE On Sept. 12 every Australian who has registered to vote was sent a ballot asking, "Should the law be changed to allow same-sex couples to marry?" The government, led by Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull, has promised a vote on the issue in the parliament by the end of the year if the majority of voters opt for yes. But LGBT activists point out that lawmakers are not bound to vote along the lines of what the country says it wants.

An estimated 9.2 million people had voted in the survey as of Oct. 3

OPEN QUESTION The issue has divided lawmakers since 2004, when then Prime Minister John Howard changed the Marriage Act to define marriage as being between a man and a woman. Twenty-one bills related to same-sex marriage have failed in the parliament since then. The fragile Liberal-National governing coalition, popular in conservative rural areas, is split on the issue between reformers and traditionalists. Turnbull has backed a yes vote but has shied away from taking a major role in the campaign.

WIDE BACKING Australia is one of the few developed nations yet to legalize same-sex marriage, in spite of the majority of polls since 2007 showing Australians in support. Yet this vote might not resolve the question; in this poll, unlike normal Australian elections, voting isn't compulsory and anything less than a stellar turnout could strengthen opponents of same-sex marriage in the parliament. —TARA JOHN

DIGITS: CHRIS RATCLIFFE—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES; WORLD: DARRIAN TRAYNOR—GETTY IMAGES

DATA

WHERE ARE KIDS BULLIED?

Morocco has one of the lowest rates of bullying among children ages 13 to 15, according to the initiative Know Violence in Childhood. Here, the share of kids from a range of countries who say they were bullied:

1% Morocco

16% Croatia

26% U.S.

30% Germany

47% Peru

74% Samoa

TICKER

Tokyo governor won't challenge PM

Tokyo Governor Yuriko Koike ruled out running against Prime Minister Shinzo Abe in Japan's Oct. 22 election. Koike launched her new Party of Hope on Sept. 25, just hours before the national election was called. It is thought she will run in the next election instead.

No lawsuits for Black Lives Matter

A Louisiana judge ruled that Black Lives Matter is a social movement—much like the civil rights, Tea Party and LGBT movements—and therefore can't be sued. A police officer had anonymously tried to sue the movement after he was injured by a small object thrown during a Black Lives Matter protest in 2016.

Refugee charged in Canada attack

A Somali-born refugee, 30, was charged with five counts of attempted murder in connection with a car and knife attack on a police officer in Edmonton, Alberta. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau had called the incident a terrorist attack.

Life not a computer simulation

Despite what fans of *The Matrix* may believe, a team of Oxford University scientists claimed to have proved it was "impossible in any physical setting" for human beings to be unknowingly living in a computer simulation.

THE RISK REPORT

Trump's desire for a better deal with Iran could isolate the U.S.

By Ian Bremmer

THE IRAN NUCLEAR DEAL IS IN REAL TROUble. Signed in July 2015 by Iran, the U.S., Britain, France, Germany, Russia, China and the E.U., the agreement waived nuclear-related economic sanctions on Iran in exchange for limitations on its uranium-enrichment program. International inspectors say Iran is keeping its end of the deal. But the Trump Administration must certify the country's compliance every three months, and the President has hinted that he won't recertify the agreement by the next deadline of Oct. 15.

Trump wants a better deal. He wants to extend the time frame on Iran's compliance. He wants expanded access to military sites. He says it must stop testing ballistic missiles, which were not part of the deal, and halt its support for organizations that Washington classifies as terrorist groups, like Hizbollah and Hamas. Politically, Trump wants to show that Obama made a bad deal and he can make a better one.

The President's key Cabinet members don't agree. Defense Secretary James Mattis told the Senate Armed Services Committee on Oct. 3 that he thinks the U.S. should stick with the deal. Trump's bigger problem is that U.S. allies don't agree with him either. They say that Iran has kept its side of the bargain and don't want to see their hard work torn up. If Trump walks away, he'll probably walk alone. The Europeans could even decide to continue to honor the deal's terms, vindicating Iran and creating a rift between the U.S. and Europe even bigger than the one that followed George W. Bush's decision to invade Iraq in 2003. (Though Bush, at least, had backing from the U.K.'s Tony Blair.)

> U.S. allies don't want to see their hard work torn up. If Trump walks away, he'll probably walk alone

Trump may feel he has enough on his plate with North Korea without picking another fight with few good options. But he might just instruct his national-security team to refuse to issue a formal certification of compliance, even while holding back from killing the deal completely. He can then demand that Iran offer concessions by a given deadline, while promising to continue to waive sanctions if it bargains in good faith.

Iran's leaders have good reason to compromise, whatever they say publicly. The lifting of sanctions has given the regime an extra $17 billion per year in oil revenues, and foreign investment has begun to return to the country. Risking new sanctions at a time of still-high unemployment is not an appealing prospect, and Iran doesn't want blame for breaking the deal.

But Iran could call what it sees as Trump's bluff. Its leaders can see the Europeans aren't happy with him, and that even some members of his own party would criticize him for putting a diplomatic milestone at risk. That's how the deal could still fall apart. □

FASHION

Cameos on the catwalk

Spanish fashion house Balenciaga turned heads on Oct. 1 when it sent models down the runway wearing platform Crocs *(below left),* the much-ridiculed colorful clogs. Here, other unlikely items that have appeared during fashion weeks. —*Kate Samuelson*

JELLY SANDALS
The plastic shoes beloved by '90s kids made a comeback during Alberta Ferretti's Milan Fashion Week show in September, where they were worn by models Gigi Hadid and Bella Hadid.

IKEA BAG
Balenciaga also made headlines on the Paris runway in June 2016 when it debuted a $2,145 large blue leather bag that bore a striking resemblance to Ikea's iconic 99¢ Frakta tote.

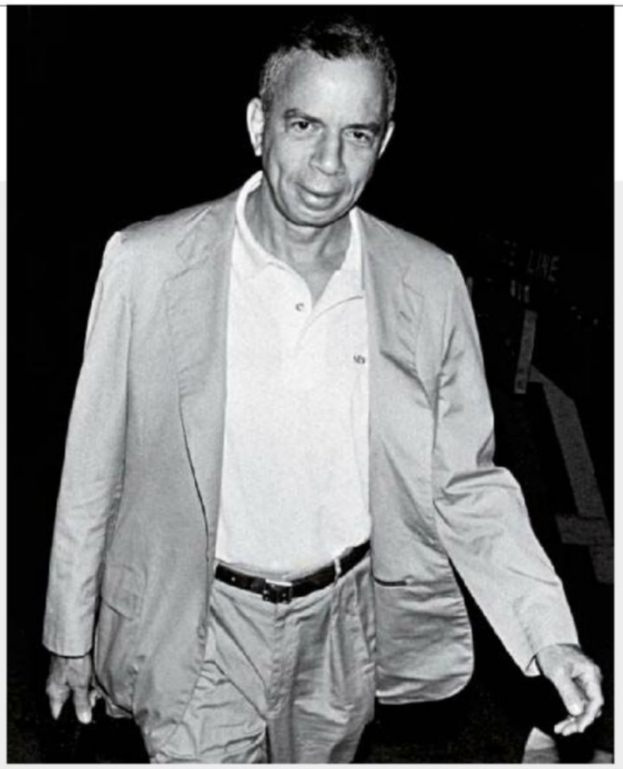
DHL T-SHIRT
When French design house Vetements showcased a $330 version of the yellow T-shirt worn by employees of German courier giant DHL at Paris Fashion Week in 2015, it quickly sold out.

Milestones

DIED

S.I. Newhouse
Media magnate

By Tina Brown



Newhouse, who died at age 89 on Oct. 1, at the Condé Nast Building in New York City on Aug. 21, 1989

IN THE SUMMER OF 1985, S.I. Newhouse, chairman of Condé Nast publications, the newspaper and magazine empire he co-inherited from his father, offered me a lift back to the office in his limo after our monthly lunch. Small, shy and nebbishy, Si, as he was known, was the only power that counted at Condé Nast.

What was unique—and most endearing—about Si was that he never behaved like a media mogul. As we drove back to the office, he suddenly said, "You know, there's no such thing as real power in America."

"What do you mean?" I said. "Well," he said, "the President has no power. Congress can thwart him. I'm supposed to have media power, but I can't get arrested!"

"You have power," I said, "but you sometimes choose not to exercise it." "But how could I exercise it?" he said, as we cruised toward the building he owned. "Say I wrote a memo to the magazine editors telling them only to plug Random House books. They'd just take no notice. Or say I gave Random House a list of books by authors I told them to buy. It wouldn't last five minutes."

We were now out of the car, walking past a newsstand stacked with the magazine titles he owned. He stopped to wait for the elevator. "As for the *New Yorker,* well, I find it very hard to get [its editor] William Shawn on the phone." With that he disappeared into the express elevator to the 14th floor.

And yet look what this modest man achieved. His taste and ambition led him to assemble a roster of some of the best editors in America and gave them the resources to do their best work without interference. He was the great antihero of media whose passing every writer and editor—and reader—should mourn.

Brown was editor-in-chief of *Vanity Fair,* editor of the *New Yorker* and founded *The Daily Beast;* her memoir *The Vanity Fair Diaries* will be published in November

DIED

Hugh Hefner
Purveyor of the Playboy *fantasy*

HUGH HEFNER, WHO died at 91 on Sept. 27, lived a dream and knew it. After he created *Playboy* in 1953, the magazine and its bunny-emblazoned empire limned a glossy world of fun for the sophisticated modern man, embodied by Hef himself. There was no shame but lots of sex, personified by nude centerfolds.

But the bunnies who populated the *Playboy* realm weren't a dream; they were real women. Though Hefner touted the progressive work he did to free women from sexual repression, he also proudly objectified them and, in later decades, some shine came off the cocktail glass. Many saw the *Playboy* fantasia as dated or worse, and business took a hit on the other side, partly due to a proliferation of raunchier options. And yet Hefner never gave up the fantasy that made his fortune—a fantasy that, thanks to him, had become an indelible part of the 20th century dreamscape.

—LILY ROTHMAN

DIED

Jalal Talabani, Kurdish leader who campaigned for a sovereign state and became the first non-Arab President of Iraq, at 83.

› Clinical psychologist **Arthur Janov,** who pioneered "primal scream" therapy, the controversial psychotherapy method made famous in the 1970s by celebrities such as John Lennon, at 93.

RELEASED

O.J. Simpson, from prison, after serving nine years for an armed robbery in 2007. In 1995 the former football legend was acquitted of murdering his ex-wife Nicole Brown Simpson and her friend Ronald Goldman.

ELECTED

Jagmeet Singh, as leader of Canada's leftist New Democratic Party, making him the country's first leader of color of a major political party.

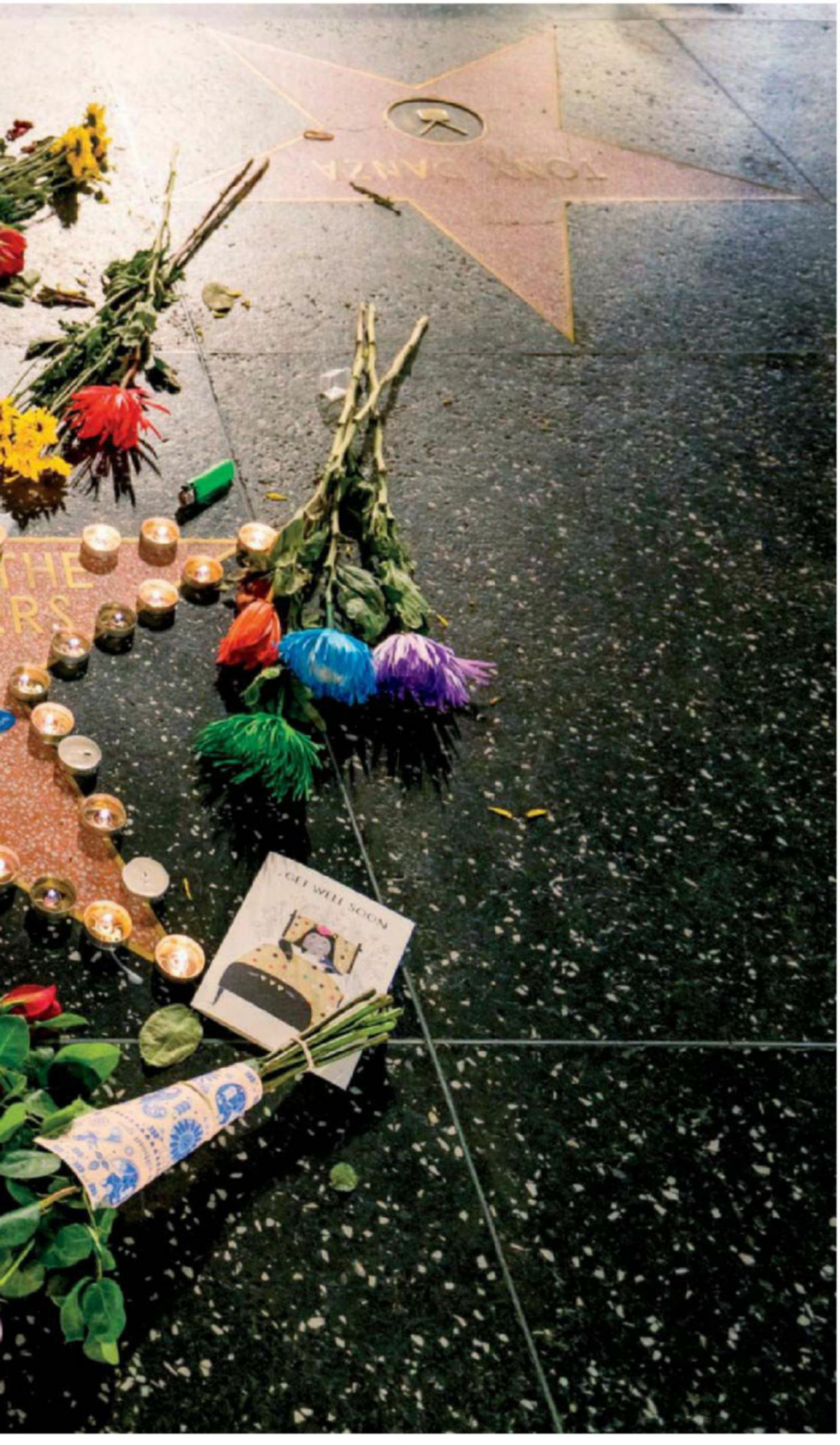
WON

The 2017 **Nobel Prize in Physics,** by scientists Rainer Weiss, Barry Barish and Kip Thorne, for their discoveries in gravitational waves.

› The 2017 **Nobel Prize in Chemistry,** by researchers Jacques Dubochet, Joachim Frank and Richard Henderson, for pioneering a new technique to visualize biological molecules.

FASHION: BENOIT FATOU—BALENCIAGA; NEWHOUSE: RON GALELLA—WIREIMAGE/GETTY IMAGES; HEFNER: S. GRANITZ—WIREIMAGE/GETTY IMAGES

TOM PETTY &
HEARTBREAKE



MUSIC

Tom Petty's wisdom changed American music forever

TOM PETTY, WHO PASSED AWAY ON Oct. 2 at 66 after suffering cardiac arrest, felt like part of the rock firmament in a way that was different from your Pauls, your Micks, your Anguses. Both solo and with his storming backing band the Heartbreakers, Petty specialized in a loose-limbed style of rock that grooved as it felt utterly human. His formidable catalog, which spans the biting "Refugee" and the dreamy "Free Fallin'," encapsulates a particularly American ideal—it's music for the open road that chews on humanity's foibles in a way that doesn't short-circuit its pleasure.

Hailing from Gainesville, Fla., Tom Petty and the Heartbreakers released their self-titled debut in 1976. "American Girl," which closes out the album, has in the 40 years since its release become a classic-rock radio staple. The song updates the idea of American folk, incorporating rock's muscle and swagger even as Petty's lyrics keep it utterly grounded in workaday humanity.

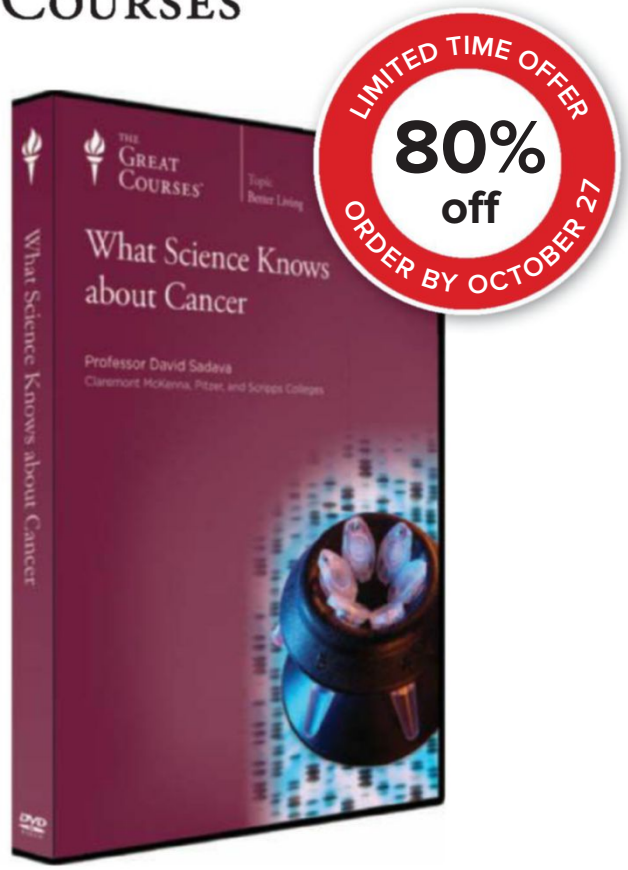
Petty's biggest successes, though, were born of tenacity and a strong belief in his work. To his dismay, Petty said his label initially rejected his 1989 solo debut, *Full Moon Fever.* But he persevered, and the record was released, producing a clutch of classic-rock staples—including the breezily resolute "I Won't Back Down," which perfectly encapsulates the effect his distinctive style and independent spirit had on American rock. —MAURA JOHNSTON

Bouquets and candles frame Petty's star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame in Los Angeles on Oct. 2

PHOTOGRAPH BY AARONP—BAUER-GRIFFIN/GC IMAGES

For more of our best photography, visit **time.com/lightbox**

THE GREAT COURSES®



What Do Researchers Know about Cancer?

The landscape of cancer treatment and prevention is a vastly different place than it was even a decade ago. Thanks to a relatively new focus on molecular medicine, researchers are gaining a deeper understanding of the mechanisms involved in the disease, poising them on the brink of huge breakthroughs.

What Science Knows about Cancer reports from the front lines of the war on cancer with a clear and scientifically precise—yet thoroughly accessible—guide to how the disease develops, thrives, and can potentially be conquered. Taught by David Sadava, a laboratory researcher at the City of Hope Medical Center and an award-winning professor of biology at The Claremont Colleges, this fascinating 24-lecture course leaves no stone unturned in explaining the amazing ways cancer works to subvert the body, and how new therapies can reverse these insidious processes.

Offer expires 10/27/17

THEGREATCOURSES.COM/6TME

1-800-832-2412

What Science Knows about Cancer

Taught by Professor David Sadava
CITY OF HOPE MEDICAL CENTER AND
THE CLAREMONT COLLEGES

LECTURE TITLES

1. Cancer Is an Ongoing Challenge
2. Cancer Is a Major Burden to Society
3. Discovering Causes of Cancer in Populations
4. Some Causes of Cancer in Populations
5. DNA Is the Key to Understanding Cancer
6. How Does DNA Change to Initiate Cancer?
7. How Do We Know If Something Causes Cancer?
8. How Do Normal Cells Function?
9. What Is Different about Cancer Cells?
10. How Do Tumors Grow?
11. How Tumors Spread and Thrive
12. What Are Tumor Viruses?
13. How Do Tumor Viruses Cause Cancer?
14. How Do Cancer-Causing Genes Work?
15. Can Cancer Be Inherited?
16. How Do Normal Genes Suppress Tumors?
17. How Do Genetic Changes Result in Cancer?
18. Treating Cancer with Surgery
19. Treating Cancer with Radiation
20. Treating Cancer with Drugs
21. How Do Drugs Attack Cancer?
22. Frontiers of Cancer Treatment
23. Can Screening for Cancer Be Useful?
24. Can Cancer Be Prevented?

What Science Knows about Cancer
Course no. 1956 | 24 lectures (30 minutes/lecture)

SAVE UP TO $215

DVD	~~$254.95~~	NOW $39.95
Video Download	~~$214.95~~	NOW $34.95
CD	~~$179.95~~	NOW $29.95
Audio Download	~~$129.95~~	NOW $24.95

+$10 Shipping & Processing (DVD & CD only)
and Lifetime Satisfaction Guarantee

Priority Code: 152017

For over 25 years, The Great Courses has brought the world's foremost educators to millions who want to go deeper into the subjects that matter most. No exams. No homework. Just a world of knowledge available anytime, anywhere. Download or stream to your laptop or PC, or use our free apps for iPad, iPhone, Android, Kindle Fire, or Roku. Over 600 courses available at www.TheGreatCourses.com.

The View

'THE U.S. IS SET TO LAG CHINA IN THE BATTERY RACE IF CURRENT TRENDS CONTINUE.' —PAGE 20

An emerging criminal investigation has embroiled college teams, coaches and companies

SPORTS

A corruption probe into college hoops exposes more than shady deals

By Sean Gregory

THE CRIMINAL COMPLAINT UNveiled in late September contained all sorts of unsavory details about college basketball's underground economy: five-figure bribes to coaches, six-figure payouts to high school players and their families, and the alleged complicity of employees at some of the nation's most prominent universities.

The 10 defendants "allegedly exploited the hoop dreams of student-athletes around the country," said Joon H. Kim, the acting U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York. The FBI opened a tip line, and officials suggested more bombshells to come.

It was a public service but not only in the ways federal investigators intended. Indeed, the lasting legacy of the probe into the corruption of college hoops may turn out to be a government-backed reminder of the hypocrisy at the heart of big-time college sports.

The NCAA, which governs most intercollegiate sports in the U.S., requires that athletes maintain their amateur status in order to play. That means they can't accept any compensation beyond an athletic scholarship and a meager cost-of-living stipend, or profit from their likeness in any way.

The NCAA and the colleges where these athletes play, however, are free to cash in. And boy, do they: Under Armour is paying UCLA roughly $18.7 million per year to be its exclusive shoe and apparel sponsor; the College Football Playoff sold its broadcast rights for more than $7 billion over 12 years; while TV rights for March Madness, the men's basketball tournament

GETTY IMAGES

PHOTOGRAPH BY JOE ROBBINS

that accounts for the bulk of the NCAA's revenue, fetch more than $700 million annually.

It's little wonder there was an opening for the kinds of payoffs and kickbacks detailed by the feds. Among the allegations: an Adidas employee and representatives of sports-management and investment-services companies funneled $100,000 to a top high school recruit in exchange for his commitment to attend the University of Louisville and sign with Adidas and work with the companies in question once he turned pro. After the news was made public, Louisville placed head coach Rick Pitino, whose success on the court has lately been overshadowed by negative headlines off of it, on administrative leave. (Pitino denied any knowledge of the accusations.) The complaint also accused Auburn associate head coach Chuck Person, a former NBA player, of accepting a bribe to steer one of his players to a financial adviser as a client. (An attorney for Person declined comment.)

That coaches and others in a position of trust would prey on younger people in their care is a shame. But the current system, which allows major institutions to reap large profits from the unpaid labor of students, should not escape judgment. "I can imagine this alternative universe where paying players is legal and above the table and coaches wouldn't have had to lie," says Nathaniel Grow, a professor of business law and ethics at Indiana University's Kelley School of Business. Even the language used by U.S. attorney Kim shows how easy it is to fall into the NCAA's linguistic trap. How, exactly, is an athlete receiving $100,000 in exchange for his services being "exploited"? Isn't "enriched" a more appropriate descriptor?

The consequences of the investigation could ripple far beyond the basketball court. If the tip line gets as much inbound traffic as many observers expect and more players are found to have received payments—in violation of the NCAA's restrictions on compensating the athletes that fans pay to see—the NCAA will be forced to punish Louisville and perhaps dozens of other top programs. Scholarships will be stripped, denying opportunities to future student-athletes and potentially hurting low-revenue sports that are subsidized by big-time hoops.

Some of the housecleaning to come is necessary. Top-tier college basketball has long been a bit of a cesspool, filled with too slick coaches and hangers-on with their hands out. Still, the game can be a force for good. Many athletes take their studies seriously. They learn to lead and manage their time and benefit from the experience throughout their lives. These athletes deserve to be fairly compensated for their labor, through a system that is legal, clean and transparent. Anything less will ensure that the current criminal investigation won't be the last. ◻

VERBATIM

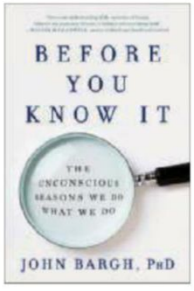
'Let's fight all cancers and make universal health care a reality.'

JULIA LOUIS-DREYFUS, actor, in a statement revealing that she has breast cancer; 1 in 8 women gets the diagnosis, but "not all women are so lucky" as to have health insurance, she wrote

BOOK IN BRIEF

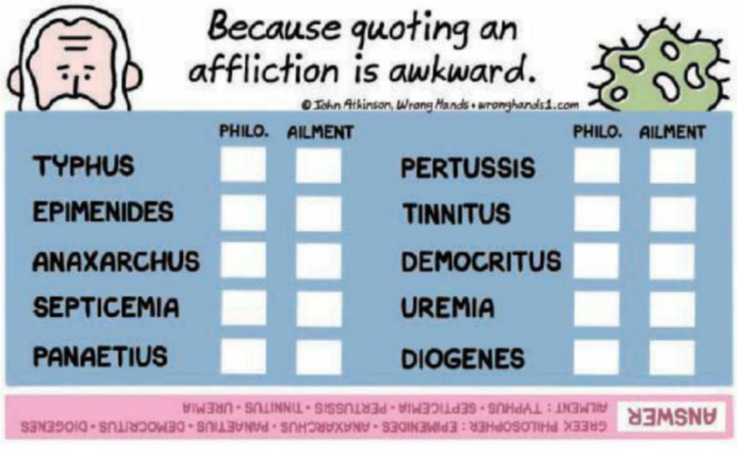
How hidden factors drive what we think

ARE YOU REALLY IN CONTROL OF YOUR own mind? Not exactly, argues cognitive psychologist John Bargh, whose new book, *Before You Know It,* explores the unconscious factors that influence how we think—and act. Consider a study Bargh and his colleagues performed in which participants were told to hold either a hot or cold cup of coffee before assessing five personality traits of a fictional character. Those who held the hot coffee found the character more likable, suggesting that merely being hot or cold can influence our judgment. Or consider another study, in which participants were asked to rate different kinds of strawberry jam, either by their gut reaction or by careful deliberation. More often than not, the gut reactions correlated with the better-quality jams. "The unconscious can lead us astray if we are not aware of its influence," Bargh writes, "but remember, it evolved and exists because it helped us to survive and to thrive." —SARAH BEGLEY



CHARTOON

Greek philosopher or ailment?



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

For more on these stories, visit **time.com/ideas**

BIG IDEA

A Mars colony near Dubai

What's the best way to prepare for exploring a hot, hostile planet? By finding a similar climate on Earth. That's the idea behind the Mars Science City, a new $140 million, government-funded project that the United Arab Emirates just unveiled. Danish architect Bjarke Ingels helped design the four climate-controlled domes that will be built in the Emirati desert, where temperatures routinely exceed 110°F. A team of scientists will live there for a year to research food, water and energy self-sufficiency; UAE Vice President and Prime Minister Sheik Mohammed bin Rashid said the experiment is a first step in the country's Mars 2117 project, which aims to establish a human colony on the planet within 100 years. —*Julia Zorthian*

LOUIS-DREYFUS; DAVID LIVINGSTON—GETTY IMAGES; BIG IDEA: ILLUSTRATION BY BIG-BJARKE INGELS GROUP

HISTORY

The surprising origin of Canada's Thanksgiving

BETWEEN TURKEY DINNERS AND FAMILY reunions, Canadian Thanksgiving—observed on the second Monday in October—can look pretty similar to its U.S. counterpart. But in fact, part of the reason Canadians first petitioned for the holiday was to celebrate their luck at not being American.

In the wake of a crisis of faith catalyzed by Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, Canadian religious leaders began in 1859 to petition the colonial government for an official day to thank God. Initially, they thanked God for plentiful harvests. But over the next decade, they became even more grateful that they were spared the bloodshed of the U.S. Civil War. "It was a solemn, holy day in the middle of the week when people would go to church," says historian Peter A. Stevens, "and thank God for how fortunate they are to be Canadian."

As the idea of a national Thanksgiving spread in the U.S. too, the two holidays began to look alike, with American publications promoting the idea of a harvest feast. Even so, the neighboring nations kept the dates separate. Canadian Thanksgiving first moved to a Monday in 1908, after railways lobbied to turn it into a long weekend that could be used to visit family—by train, naturally—and that day change later became permanent. In the years since, the early-autumn timing has been a boon. With the holiday now detached from its religious beginnings, most Canadians think of it as a time to savor the last mild weather before the northern winter starts.

—OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

For more on these stories, visit **time.com/history**

DATA

THIS JUST IN

A roundup of new and noteworthy insights from the week's most talked-about studies:

1

MEDITATION MAY BE GOOD FOR YOUR HEART

In its first statement about the effects of meditation, the American Heart Association said evidence suggests meditating may lower risk factors for heart disease by lowering high blood pressure or stress hormones.

2

A WEEKLY HOUR OF EXERCISE COULD PREVENT DEPRESSION

A study in the *American Journal of Psychiatry* of more than 33,000 people who initially didn't have depression found that those who didn't exercise were 44% more likely to develop depression within 11 years of follow-up than people who exercised one to two hours per week.

3

NO BREAKFAST COULD BE BAD FOR ARTERIES

A study of more than 4,000 people in the *Journal of the American College of Cardiology* found that those who had under 5% of their daily calories at breakfast were 2.5 times as likely as those who had large morning meals to have atherosclerosis, the hardening and narrowing of arteries, with early signs of plaque buildup. —*J.Z.*

Charged up: Batteries are the next target in China's clean-energy conquest

By Justin Worland

CLEAN-ENERGY PROMOTERS HAILED TESLA'S ANNOUNCEment of plans for a Nevada "gigafactory"—a reference to the unit for measuring energy storage—back in 2014 as the dawn of a new American industry. The $5 billion facility would eventually produce millions of lithium-ion batteries for electric vehicles as well as energy storage on the grid.

But behind the headlines, leading battery researchers and entrepreneurs say the gigafactory represents an exception to the rule in the fast-growing global industry for lithium-ion batteries. No matter what Tesla has planned, the U.S. is set to lag China in the battery race if current trends continue.

Instead of manufacturing in America, entrepreneurs are increasingly looking to China to turn cutting-edge battery research into reality. The country is expected to capture 65% of the battery market by 2021, with much of what remains left for Europe, according to Bloomberg New Energy Finance.

"In 10 years China owns lithium-ion batteries," says Matthew Nordan, managing director of MNL Partners, an energy project development firm. "The vast majority of volume—and the vast majority of profitmaking—is likely to be in China."

The anticipated Chinese dominance of the industry comes as the government sees an opportunity to become a clean-energy leader providing solutions to the rest of the world—and reaping the profits. China already manufactures more than half of the world's solar panels, and doing the same with batteries would leave China controlling an industry worth $40 billion a year by 2025, according to a Goldman Sachs analysis.

To capture that business, China has told battery manufacturers to double their capacity by 2020, created hurdles for foreign competitors and introduced subsides for both electric cars and batteries. The country's 13th five-year plan, which guides policy through 2020, guarantees a payout if manufacturers meet targets. Its battery industry also benefits from domestic lithium mining and mass electric-vehicle manufacturing.

Two companies have emerged as China's premier battery manufacturers: Contemporary Amperex Technology Ltd. (CATL) and Lishen. Together they expect to produce twice the battery capacity as Tesla annually. "We continue to walk where the country guides us," CATL CEO Huang Shilin told Reuters last December. "We hope by 2020 we can achieve performance and price that lead the world."

BATTERY MANUFACTURERS that want to operate in the U.S. face an uphill climb. Lithium batteries come with the risks associated with any nascent industry and profits tend to be narrow—when they exist at all. That's on top of the higher cost of land, labor and equipment. And unlike in China, the U.S. government has shown little enthusiasm for promoting the industry. While Chinese officials talk up their growing clean-energy sector at international gatherings, the Trump Administration promotes U.S. natural gas and "low-emission coal." Its proposed budget slices funding in half for the Energy Department program that supports the deployment of batteries. Moreover, the U.S. tends to invest in cutting-edge research rather than manufacturing improvements that allow for implementation.

"For the development of new materials, the U.S. leads the way," says Shirley Meng, who runs the Laboratory for Energy Storage and Conversion at the University of California, San Diego. "But when technology leaves the lab and enters the market, we have to start talking with the Chinese companies."

Despite the currents, a few positive signs remain for the U.S. battery industry. Tesla continues to grow rapidly and opened a second gigafactory in Buffalo, N.Y., this summer. Meanwhile, investors with an appetite for risk, like Microsoft founder Bill Gates, have thrown money into the industry.

In the meantime, Meng says relying on China may not be that bad. "Why not let China try? They have lots of cash and deep pockets," she says. "In the end the world will probably benefit." ◻

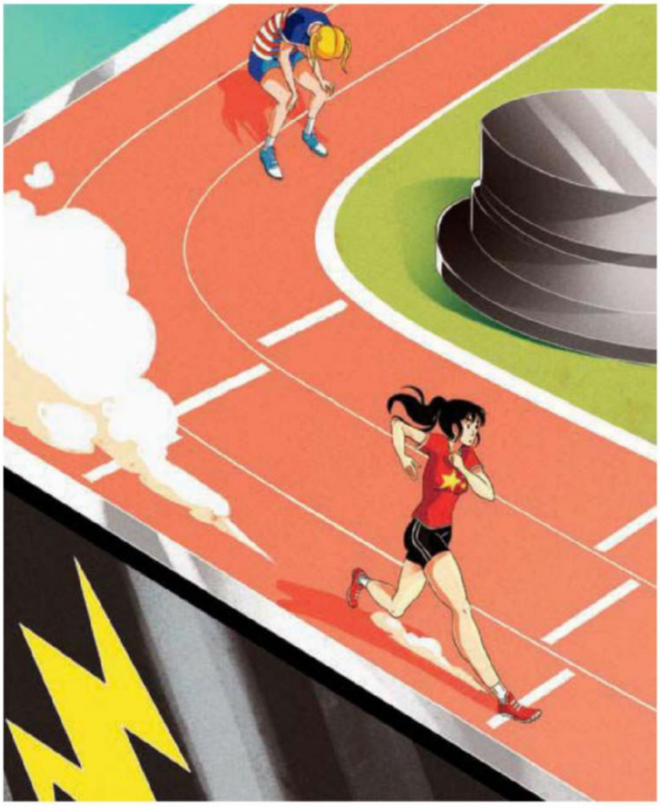


ILLUSTRATION BY JAY BENDT FOR TIME

BATTERY BATTLE
China has made a big investment in lithium-ion batteries, betting that they will be a major part of the future of energy.

4.8 million
Number of electric-vehicle charging stations expected to operate in China by 2020, up from 156,000 this year

121 GWh
Projected annual capacity of China's production of lithium-ion batteries by 2020, enough to outfit more than 4 million electric vehicles

BNEF; WALL STREET JOURNAL

'TORAY'
Innovation by Chemistry

www.toray.com

Nation

AFTER THE MASSACRE

WILL THE DEADLIEST MASS SHOOTING IN MODERN AMERICAN HISTORY CHANGE THE DEBATE OVER GUN RIGHTS?

BY PHILIP ELLIOTT, HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS AND CHARLOTTE ALTER/LAS VEGAS

PHOTOGRAPH BY MATT STUART FOR TIME

Residents and visitors attend a vigil on Las Vegas Boulevard on Oct. 2

Over the roar of the guitar, the gunfire erupted. At first the country-music fans at the Route 91 Harvest Festival in Las Vegas thought the loudspeakers were malfunctioning or that the pyrotechnics had gone awry. But as the bodies crumpled, the crowd began to grasp the horror that was unfolding.

The rapid *pop pop pop* exploded around Doris Huser, 29. She and her 8-year-old daughter had been in the bathroom, but when the shooting began, they pushed back into the crowd, toward the sound of the bullets, in search of Huser's 5-year-old son and her developmentally disabled sister. They could feel the bullets pinging off the concession stands, ricocheting off the pavement around them. About 50 yards away, Tyler Reeve, a 36-year-old country artist and songwriter, dove into a production trailer with five friends and lay on the floor as hundreds of rounds rang out. "It was like a war zone," he says. Piles of bodies were everywhere. Blood collected in pools. Everyone was screaming. Melissa Bayer, who had just left a nearby Hooters, witnessed the mayhem from a hundred yards away. This a mass shooting, she thought. This is what it looks like.

PREVIOUS PAGES: MAGNUM; THIS PAGE: AP/SHUTTERSTOCK

Drapes billow from the 32nd-floor hotel suite at Mandalay Bay, where the shooter took aim at concertgoers

If their initial reaction to the opening salvos at 10:08 p.m. on Sunday, Oct. 1 had been confusion, the 22,000 concertgoers spent the next nine to 11 minutes of protracted gunfire trapped in a nightmare that, for so many Americans, has somehow become grimly familiar: the shaky cell-phone footage of carnage, the photographs of innocent victims in the newspaper, the profiles of horror and heroism. There was the 48-year-old woman who heard her husband, a father of four, collapse on the asphalt next to her, and the young man who sprinted alongside his eight-months'-pregnant wife, running for their lives. There was the 30-year-old woman who lay on top of her 21-year-old brother to protect him from the hail of bullets, "because he has big goals in life."

But when the shooting ended, this terror would be in a class apart. Stephen Paddock, 64, who smashed the windows of his 32nd-floor Mandalay Bay Resort and Casino suite and trained an assault-style semiautomatic weapon on the helpless souls four football fields away, broke another dismal record for American murder. At least 58 dead, at least 527 wounded, by a man who, for no immediately discernible reason, lugged an arsenal of 23 weapons into his high-roller suite and then rained of hundreds upon hundreds of bullets into a tightly packed crowd. Twelve of his high-powered rifles were modified with legal parts that made them function like automatic weapons, capable of unleashing nine rounds per second, a rate of fire rarely seen off the field of war. The military-grade rounds, fired from what seemed to be large-capacity magazines, produced so much gun smoke they set off the detectors in Paddock's suite.

Year after year, mass shootings have broken record after record for casualties. From a university in Virginia to a gay dance club in Orlando, the body count has increased, creating an image of an unstoppable national slaughter. High-profile battles over background checks and gun-show loopholes have stalled on Capitol Hill, even as gun-rights advocates introduce new provisions to weaken the existing constraints.

But it's not an unfixable problem. New laws could at least limit the carnage when a murderer opens up on a crowd. We have decided that grenade launchers should not be widely available; why should we not say the same for devices that allow bullets to be fired at a rate of more than 400 rounds per minute? Nor is the political divide as unbridgeable as it appears. The National Rifle Association (NRA) and its allies are not all-powerful: the lobby relies on the intensity of a small cadre of fervent supporters, and it does lose races, such as last year's campaign to replace Senator Harry Reid of Nevada. The majority of gun owners believe in some form of regulation, and several Republican Senators have suggested they are open to compromise.

The challenge in bringing change is that the debate over gun rights isn't really about guns at all. It's about what they represent: cherished freedoms, a reverence for independence. The guns are a rejection of political correctness that creeps into everything. Even the most incremental move to constrain deadly weaponry seems to many Americans to cut against their rights. In the blood-soaked scene on the Vegas Strip, those deeply held beliefs collide with our collective horror. The question now, as the victims try to make sense of slaughter on a military scale, is where do we draw the line?

IF THAT IS a political question, it is has proven a confounding one. There are an estimated 265 million guns in the U.S., according to one study from Harvard and Northeastern universities—greater than the total number of votes cast in last year's presidential election. They are owned by 30% of the adult population. That's not a constituency to be dismissed. But not all gun owners are against all forms of gun control. A Quinnipiac University poll in June 2017 showed 94% of voters support background checks for all gun buyers—including 93% of Republicans. The same poll found that a majority, 57%, believed guns are too easy to buy, and only 35% thought more people carrying guns would make Americans safer. A Pew survey of gun owners found that almost 30% of them support stricter gun laws. "There's a complete disconnect," said Senator Amy Klobuchar, a Minnesota Democrat.

UNTHINKABLE. UNSPEAKABLE. THE LANGUAGE OF TRAGEDY

BY KATY STEINMETZ

As the country reacted to the shooting, many people invoked words that we turn to when experience has slipped the bonds of description, when language seems to offer us mere thimbles to empty a well. A photographer at the scene said the carnage and chaos was "incomparable"—nothing could be relative. The shooter's brother said he was "completely dumbfounded," a word that means he felt destitute of the faculty of speech. Many people attempting to find something meaningful to say called the event "unspeakable." Others said, "I have no words."

President Trump described the event by its indescribable nature too, saying we "cannot fathom" the feelings of the 59 families who lost a parent, a child, a brother or a sister. To fathom something, in the oldest sense, is to encircle it with extended arms. You cannot put your arms around the deadliest mass shooting in modern American history, especially while the hospitals are still full. You cannot put your arms around such loss and confusion.

Merriam-Webster editor at large Peter Sokolowski says the online dictionary saw a spike in searches for *surreal,* which means "marked by the intense irrational reality of a dream." As Sokolowski has said, a word that fits a feeling can bring "some kind of order to somebody's life in that moment." *Surreal* suggests that the event doesn't abide by logic.

Searching for words to describe an event where so many lost their lives is in some ways no different from finding words for a card you send to someone who has just lost a parent or child. There are few good words for that either, because the linear order of letters and sentences is a cheap representation of the messy void that hurts so much and remains so long after a person is gone. Trying to sum it up and getting it wrong can be an insult to the grief, so we describe it by what it isn't: clear, comprehensible, something that can be summed up.

By the time police arrived at the Las Vegas shooter's hotel room, he was already dead from an apparent suicide. In remarks on Oct. 2, Trump described the shooter by what he had done, saying he had committed "an act of pure evil." Even that meaning boils down to what it is not: the first definition of *evil* is the "antithesis of good."

TO VEGAS, WITH LOVE FROM ORLANDO

BY RICARDO J. NEGRON-ALMODOVAR

Dear Las Vegas,

You now belong to a club where membership is unwanted. The eyes of the world are upon you, but not because of your shining spectacles of lights and entertainment; no, the reason is far too bleak. Your sister cities, fellow members of the unsolicited club, know what you are going through. We see you. We feel for you. We are here for you.

Many will come to your aid in this desperate time of need. You will experience insurmountable amounts of love and strength to push on. Many will also come for the show, and once deadlines are met and assignments completed, they will go on to the next story.

But for you, this is not a scene that ends when the cameras roll out. Building community will be the key to your healing process.

Debates will ignite. Theories will be rebutted. Division will come to make its claim. But you mustn't waiver. You are tougher than this and you have to focus—right now—on providing ways so that those who have been directly affected find their road to recovery. You will be overwhelmed, but please be patient. So many needs will arise, and not everyone will be ready to deal with their own personal situations at once, which is why there must be a system in place not only to address the initial situation but also for the long run. It is imperative that no one falls through the cracks in these moments of hardship that have now become far too common.

Barely over a year ago, the Orlando community suffered from the worst crime in American history against the LGBTQ+ and Latinx community. We suffered, yes. But we also organized, and we let the world know that united we were stronger. We will join you through the darkness, and we will stand with you all the way.

Negron-Almodovar is a survivor of the Pulse nightclub tragedy who works to create safe spaces for the LGBTQ+ and Latinx community in Central Florida

So why are measures like closing background-check loopholes and limiting high-capacity magazines not already law? It's partly because a small but intense group of gun-rights advocates oppose them. A paltry 3% of households own half of all of the guns in America, and they vote. It is they who argue most vocally that if existing gun-control laws can't stop mass shootings, why would new laws be any better? Change might make people feel good, this argument goes, but it wouldn't protect Americans. "Short of a total ban on firearms, nothing being suggested would have stopped this kind of shooting," says Dudley Brown, president of the National Association for Gun Rights, of the Vegas massacre.

In one sense, history supports that argument. In 2004, Bill Clinton's ban on semiautomatic rifles, known as assault weapons, expired. But rather than spiking back up, the rate of gun homicides continued to drop. From 1993 to 2014, that rate declined from seven firearm-related homicides per 100,000 Americans to half that, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Gun-rights advocates used that as an example of gun-control laws not working. In truth, Clinton's "ban" was so full of loopholes no one believed it had been responsible for much of the decline in firearm-related deaths in the first place.

But it is less logic than political fear that has thwarted the passage of even modest gun-control measures. As the NRA and like-minded groups have become expert at harnessing a relatively small group of uncompromising gun-rights advocates, politicians fear being targeted in their next election. The combination of money and motivation has been powerful. So fierce was the NRA's opposition to Hillary Clinton last year that 1 in 8 ads on the air in Ohio was on guns; that ratio was 1 in 9 in North Carolina. Trump won both states. "The source of the NRA's power is not simply money," says Adam Winkler, a law professor at UCLA and author of *Gunfight: The Battle Over the Right to Bear Arms in America.* "The NRA's power comes from the ability to swing voters in tight, close elections. There are a lot of single-issue, pro-gun voters out there that listen to the NRA's recommendation." And, in the space of gun-rights groups, the NRA is considered one of the more moderate voices.

That power opened the door to expand gun rights on the state level. After 2004, while advocates for limits on guns attempted to fight their way back on a federal assault-weapons bans, gun-rights groups were pushing to unravel restrictions elsewhere. At the state level, concealed-carry laws were loosened or abolished at a rapid clip. Many states started accepting the gun-license standards of their counterparts, often regardless of whether they were more lax than their own. In Nevada, 38% of adults own guns, private gun sales are legal, and there are no state regulations limiting magazine capacity.

Even on the federal level, where there appeared to be a political stalemate, gun-rights advocates found ways to make progress on the margins. In 2010, a gun-parts manufacturer asked the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF) for permission to market a "bump stock" that when fitted to a semiautomatic weapon would allow the single-fire device to unleash a constant barrage of bullets. While the sale and ownership of machine guns have been strictly controlled since the 1930s and such weapons are very rare among civilians, the company argued their device would benefit handicapped gun enthusiasts, and the ATF assented.

Right up until Vegas, gun-rights advocates were trying to advance laws loosening gun restrictions through the Republican-led Congress. Buried in the Sportsmen's Heritage and Recreational Enhancement (SHARE) Act, which was

'The NRA's power comes from the ability to swing voters in tight, close elections.'

ADAM WINKLER, law professor at UCLA

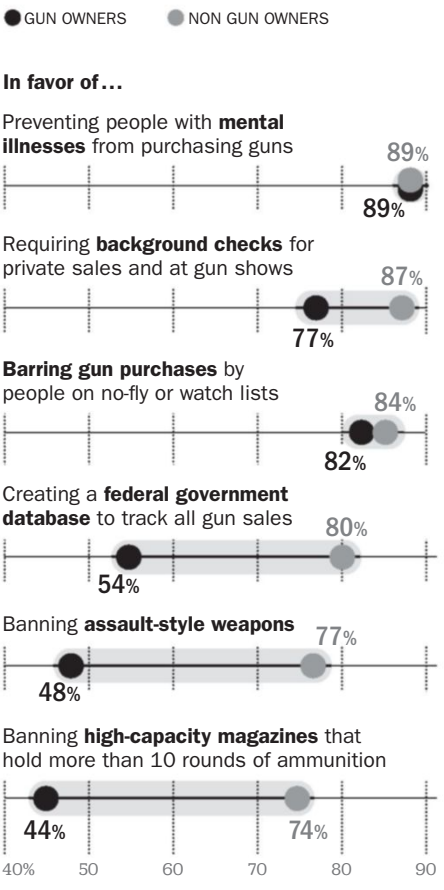
WHERE AMERICA STANDS ON GUNS

Americans who say…

The **right to own guns** is essential to their personal freedom

Gun laws should be **more strict** than they are today

Further **restrictions on legal gun sales** would result in fewer mass shootings



MORE FREQUENT, MORE DEADLY

Total mass shooting deaths and injuries by year, highlighting the most fatal incidents

KILLED
INJURED

21 DEAD
SAN YSIDRO
James Oliver Huberty **opens fire at a California McDonald's.** He is killed by a police sharpshooter.

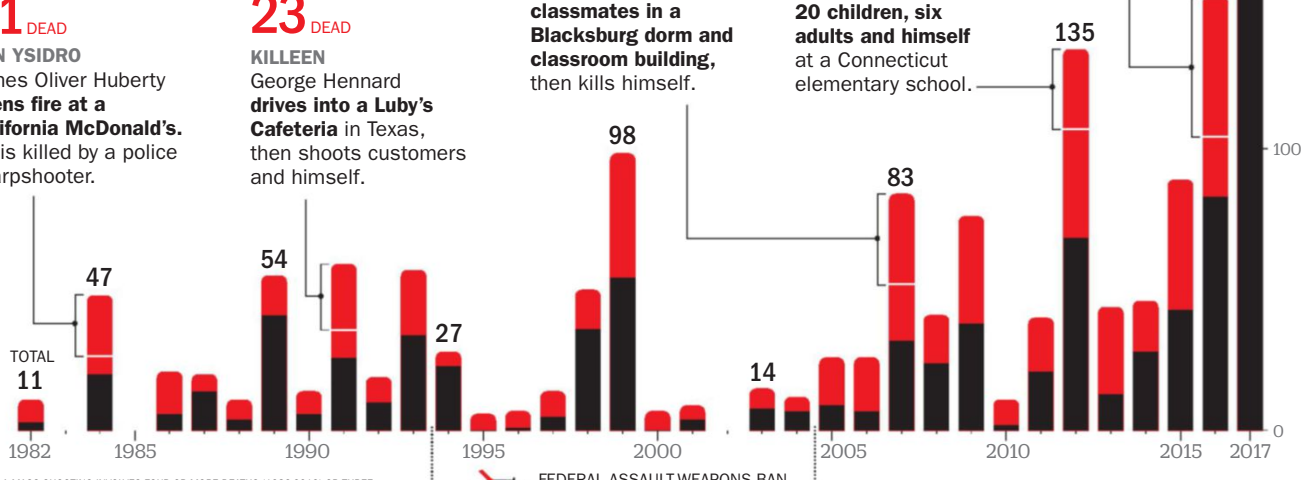
23 DEAD
KILLEEN
George Hennard **drives into a Luby's Cafeteria** in Texas, then shoots customers and himself.

32 DEAD
VIRGINIA TECH
Student Cho Seung-Hui **kills classmates in a Blacksburg dorm and classroom building,** then kills himself.

27 DEAD
SANDY HOOK
Adam Lanza **kills his mother, then 20 children, six adults and himself** at a Connecticut elementary school.

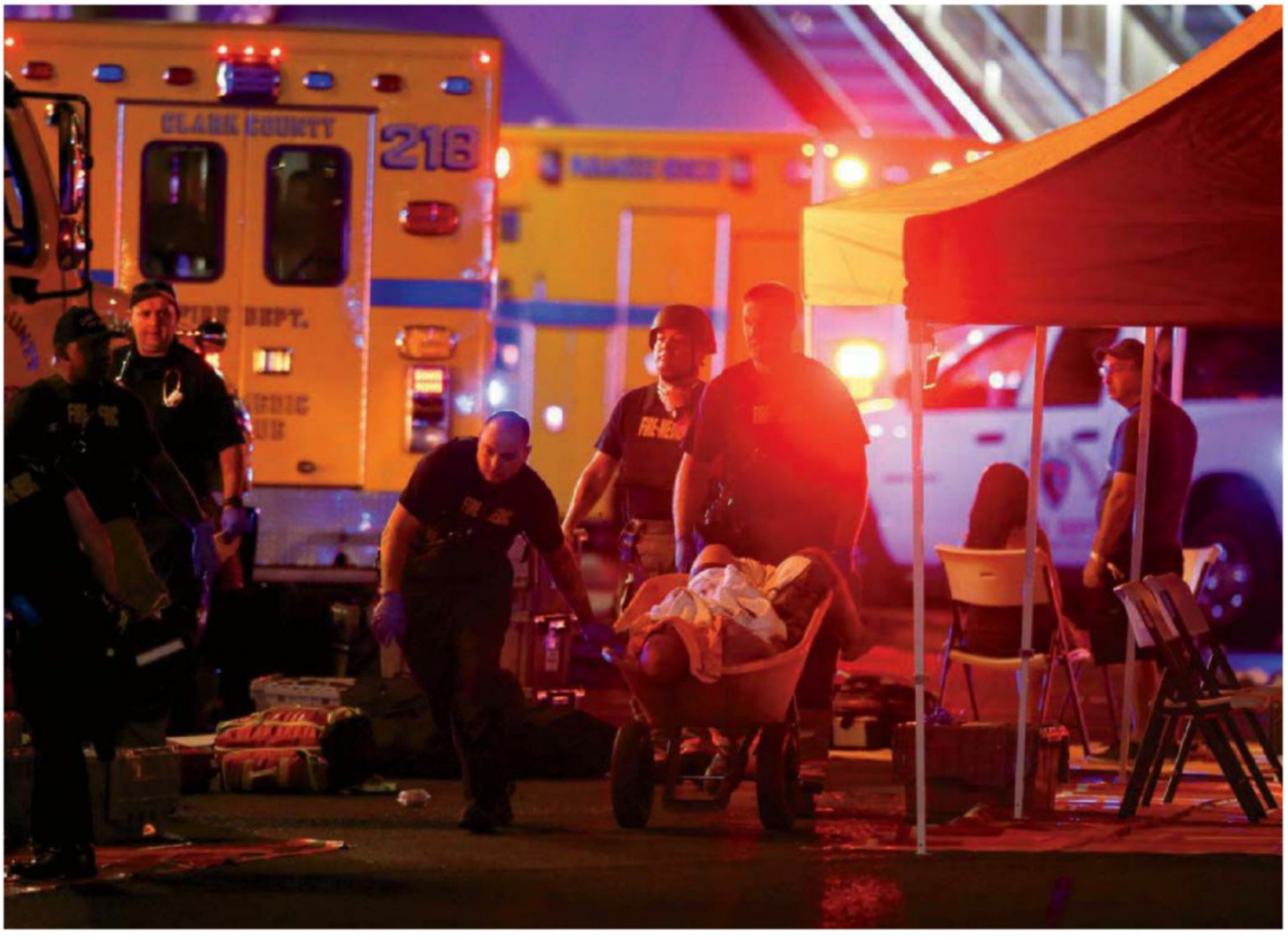
58 DEAD
LAS VEGAS
Stephen Paddock **fires on an outdoor country music festival** in Las Vegas from the 32nd floor of a nearby hotel. More than 500 survivors are injured as a result of gun wounds or getting trampled while trying to escape.

49 DEAD
ORLANDO
Omar Mateen **kills patrons at a gay nightclub** in Florida. After a hostage standoff he is killed by a SWAT team.



NOTE: A MASS SHOOTING INVOLVES FOUR OR MORE DEATHS (1982-2012) OR THREE OR MORE DEATHS (2013-2017) FROM SHOOTING INCIDENTS THAT OCCURRED IN PUBLIC PLACES. THE FEDERAL DEFINITION WAS CHANGED TO THREE DEATHS IN 2013.

SOURCES: PEW RESEARCH, JUNE 2017; MASS SHOOTING FIGURES ADAPTED FROM MOTHER JONES



More than 527 people were wounded in the attack, forcing medics to cart away some victims in wheelbarrows

CHASE STEVENS—LAS VEGAS REVIEW-JOURNAL/AP

intended to enhance recreation opportunities on federal land, were provisions allowing the purchase and use of "suppressors," similar to silencers used by the military and the restraints on the regulation of armor piercing bullets.

THE HORROR IN LAS VEGAS seemed to change nothing at the Capitol. House Speaker Paul Ryan, a Republican, promoted the virtues of mental-health care when he met with reporters Oct. 3. To his left stood Steve Scalise, a member of Ryan's leadership team, who was back on the job for the first time in months after a disgruntled shooter ambushed congressional Republicans on a softball field in May. In an interview days earlier, Scalise had told *60 Minutes* that the attack on him did not diminish his belief in the Second Amendment and credited his security detail with saving his life. "If it's not a gun, it'll be a hand grenade, or it will be a knife or an ax," he said.

Later, on Oct. 3, Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell dodged queries about guns and ended his weekly Q&A with reporters at the Capitol after just three questions. "It's premature to be discussing legislative solutions, if there are any," McConnell said. In many corners a sense of hopelessness settled over the post-Vegas debate. "If Sandy Hook didn't result in legislation that either eliminated or restricted the type of guns that can be sold, or the people to whom they can be sold, nothing will ever change," says Patrick Dunphy, an attorney who has sued a gun shop. "When you have someone slaughtering kids in a grade school, if that isn't enough, what is?"

But it's foolish to say nothing could have diminished the scale of the Vegas massacre. The evening of Oct. 3, law-enforcement officials said that 12 of the 23 weapons in Paddock's suite were equipped with bump stocks of the kind that had first received government permission for manufacture in 2010. Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein, who has raised the alarm about bump stocks for years, said she planned to revive her ban on such accessories. "This is the least we should do," the California Democrat said. Her bill, introduced the next day, immediately drew widespread support among Democrats. Republicans kept a skeptical distance, at least at first.

Meanwhile, other Democrats are shooting for symbolic victories. House

Democratic leader Nancy Pelosi is pushing for a Select Committee on Gun Violence, a move that may leave Republicans red-faced when they oppose it. Others are considering how to wrangle Republicans to join previous attempts to finally fund the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention programs to figure out just how much of a public-health risk guns pose. And those lobbying for tighter controls on guns say they'd rather focus on the big, stalled fights than the ones that might make a difference on the margins. "The instances of gun violence in this country using fully automatic weapons or weapons approximating fully automatic fire are a small minority of the gun violence," says Billy Rosen, deputy legal director at Everytown for Gun Safety.

Some are hoping for help from an unlikely quarter: President Trump. Senate minority leader Chuck Schumer tried to find some daylight between Trump and the NRA, which spent a record $30 million on his campaign against Hillary Clinton. "Before he was a candidate and marched in lockstep with the NRA," Schumer said, "Donald Trump expressed very a reasonable position on gun control."

In a way, Trump does remain the biggest unknown. He became the first President to address the NRA's convention in 34 years, in April, but in 2000 he wrote, "I support the ban on assault weapons, and I support a slightly longer waiting period to purchase a gun." And the President does pride himself on being a dealmaker. West Wing aides worried that a single segment on cable television, or a moment in Trump's visit to Las Vegas on Oct. 4, might provoke an impulsive statement with the power to reshape the gun-rights debate in America. But the president stayed on message when asked about gun control as he visited survivors at University Medical Center in Las Vegas. "We're not going to talk about that today," he said.

Former White House strategist Stephen Bannon tried to quash talk of such an unlikely deal telling Axios that the blowback for any Trump surprise on gun control would destroy the President's governing coalition. Bannon is probably right that Trump won't flip, because the cornerstone of this debate, after all, isn't really about guns. It's about something

IT'S ALWAYS MEN

BY JILL FILIPOVIC

Another mass shooting in America, another round of questions. Was the shooter a terrorist or a lone wolf? (Read: "Was he Muslim?") Did he have a political agenda? Was he mentally ill? Why would someone do this? One question we never ask: Was the shooter a man? The answer is always the same.

Of the 134 mass shooters who have preyed on Americans since 1966, three have been women, making mass shooting a 98% male enterprise. Ninety percent of murderers are men—firearms are used in close to 70% of homicides.

Plenty has been written about the relationship between masculinity and guns: how gunmakers center advertising campaigns on macho status, how a startlingly high proportion of mass shooters have a history of abusing women, how more than half of mass shootings involve a man killing (or trying to kill) an intimate, taking others out along with her. But the reality of American men and gun violence is as much about a hypermasculine fetishization of murder toys as it is about tribal identity, a deepening identification of self and clan that radicalizes marginal views and magnifies personal entitlement and social distrust. This is a communal masculine ideology, not an individual one. There is no lone wolf. There is a rabid wolf pack.

Almost half of the world's civilian-owned guns are in the hands of Americans. But those guns are not distributed equally. Many are hoarded by "super-owners," a group of mostly male extremists who make up just 3% of the adult population but own an average of 17 guns apiece. Women are increasingly buying handguns for protection, and that seems to be their actual motivation: they own a single gun, and they keep it in case of an emergency (one suspects that the imagined assailant they are protecting themselves from is a man).

Male gun owners are more likely to bind their recreational lives and identities to guns and "gun culture," according to Pew: they hunt, go shooting, watch gun-related shows on TV and seek out more gun-related recreation and information. This intersects with other aspects of identity: 95% of conservative Republican gun owners agree that "the right to own guns is essential to their own sense of freedom." White men are much more likely to own guns than non-whites, and the super-owners amassing arsenals of weapons are particularly likely to be white, male and conservative. Among gun hoarders—those who own at least five guns—almost half say being a gun owner is "very important" to their identity. Being friends with other gun owners also increases the probability that a person will tie their identity to gun ownership, and gun owners tend to socialize with other gun owners: 54% of men who own guns say all or most of their friends own guns too.

In other words, there is less a broad American fixation with guns than there is a subculture of mostly white, mostly male, mostly conservative gun obsessives. Within this group, gun ownership is as much a hobby and an effort at self-defense as it is a way to forge an identity and bond with a like-minded community. The gun is simply the (extremely literal) external symbol of the underlying ideology: white male power comes through physical domination.

These are the same men we have been hearing a lot about lately—angry and displaced white men. From their slipping status comes fear. What a feeling, then, to hold a gun—especially if you feel entitled to dominance but see your other channels for it waning. There is no greater power than the ability to kill, a power made so easy that a man doesn't have to train or build physical strength or think creatively or work for it; he merely has to curl a fingertip and *pop pop pop.*

The fear that drives the demand for more guns and renewed male authority is, of course, irrational. The vast majority of people never need a gun for protection (the presence of a gun in the house makes you more vulnerable to deadly violence). Violent crime in the U.S. has been declining for years. Women, immigrants and people of color are doing better than in the past, but we are not anywhere close to overtaking the white male grip on power.

This reality-based narrative, though, does not serve the interests of the wealthy few who benefit colossally from one party's one-percent benevolence, or the companies that make astounding sums when credulous citizens are distracted into looking the other way. It makes political and economic sense to encourage conservative white gun-owning men to double down on their identities by giving them advocates in Congress and their own set of facts. It certainly makes financial sense for gun manufacturers, which thrive on selling consumers multiple firearms and accessories. Why do you need more than one gun? "Why do you need more than one pair of shoes?" Philip van Cleave, president of the Virginia Citizens Defense League, asked, in the *Guardian.*

It is undeniable that more guns mean more gun deaths. But we choose to let this ecosystem thrive, even as we bleed out. We comfort ourselves with vapidities about "lone wolves," these unpredictable animals whose behavior cannot be restrained or tamed. How many of them have to strike before we realize there's a whole pack out there, some of them preying but all of them eating their fill, while the rest of us cower?

Filipovic is an attorney and writer

THE CASE FOR SUPPRESSOR TECHNOLOGY

BY REPRESENTATIVE JEFF DUNCAN

What happened that fateful Sunday evening in Las Vegas is beyond words. In the days immediately following the shooting, I intentionally avoided saying much, not because I didn't have opinions, but because I feel that we as a society are often too quick to politicize a situation. The days after the shooting should have been spent grieving, coming together and looking for answers. Unfortunately that's not what happened, and now I feel compelled to correct the record on some of the over-the-top rhetoric.

As the Washington *Post*'s Fact Checker unit confirmed in 2015, practically none of the then existing legislation made a difference in recent attacks. That is particularly true when it comes to the left's attacks on my sportsmen's legislation (the SHARE Act), which among many other things reclassifies gun suppressors. Even though at the time of this writing, no suppressor has been found in the possession of the Las Vegas shooter, suppressors on weapons firing full-automatic, even simulated as in this most recent case, can cause significant challenges for the shooter, often making them unfeasible. The truth is that the only place a suppressor is silent is on a Hollywood soundstage.

Hearing loss begins at 85 decibels (dB). A roaring football stadium is around 100 dB, a jackhammer is about 130 dB, a suppressed firearm around 130 dB and an unsuppressed hunting rifle around 155 dB to 160 dB. I'm not aware of anyone who would consider a jackhammer to be silent. To suggest otherwise is nothing more than political posturing.

Suppressors are useful tools for protecting the hearing of recreational shooters, hunters and their dogs, who often can't use traditional hearing protection due to the nature of their activity. If my legislation were to become law, suppressors would actually be more regulated than they currently are in Europe. We need to stick to the facts.

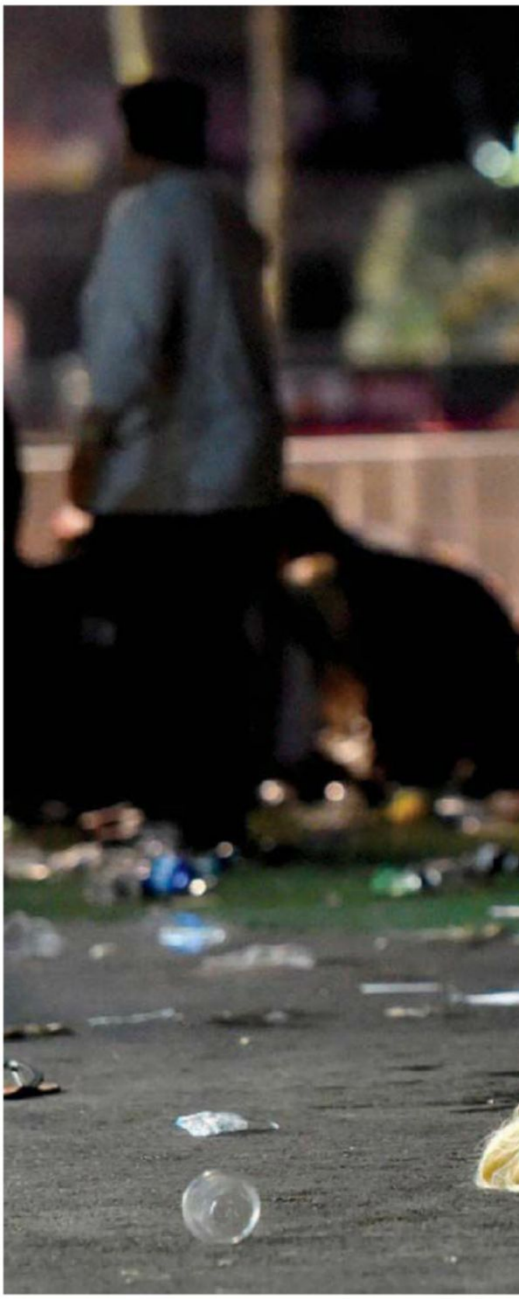
Duncan is a Republican congressman from South Carolina

much more important to Trump's base: government power vs. individual rights. Many of the most fervent gun-rights advocates are also furious that the Government—Big G—makes them buy health coverage or pay a fine or pay taxes that underwrite large federal programs. To many of those voters, unfettered access to guns is a gesture of protest that mirrors the nation's anxiety about the next century—one where many Americans may think of their firearms as a defense against change.

BUT THAT'S NOT what Stephen Paddock was about, at least as far as anyone has been able to determine so far. Wealthy and white, he was an accountant and real estate investor with no apparent criminal record and no history of mental illness, according to his family. He lived in a retirement community in Mesquite, Nev., about 90 miles northeast of Las Vegas, so fresh that it appears to have been built yesterday. The manicured golf course at Sun City Mesquite is an oasis of green in the surrounding desert. The parking lot by the rec center is filled with Jeeps and Kias. Neighbors say Paddock—who lived with his girlfriend, a high-limit casino hostess who hailed from the Philippines but had Australian citizenship—mostly kept to himself. According to his younger brother Eric, Paddock liked cruises and Mexican food and taking trips to Vegas to play high-stakes video poker. He mailed cookies to his elderly mother in Florida.

What we do know is that Paddock planned his mass murder meticulously. All of Paddock's 47 guns—recovered by law-enforcement officials from his hotel suite, his home in Mesquite and another in Reno—appear to have been legally purchased across four states. After arriving at the Mandalay Bay on Sept. 28, he set about building his bunker. Over the course of three days, he ferried 23 guns, two tripods and hundreds of rounds of ammunition up to his room, one or two bags at a time. Below, in his car, he had bags of ammonium nitrate, which can be used to make a powerful explosive. As a high roller, he may have had his pick of the unclaimed rooms, free of charge. The elevators to his car bypassed the lobby.

No one bothered him until his massacre was in progress. He knew they were coming; he had rigged video cameras in



the hallway to give him a warning when police approached. As law enforcement closed in, he put a handgun in his mouth and pulled a trigger for the last time.

The ease with which Paddock evaded security is a reminder of both how hard it is to stop a determined killer who hasn't set off alarms in advance. Casinos have cameras everywhere, and officials are now reviewing hours of surveillance footage to see how he spent his weekend in a

DAVID BECKER—GETTY IMAGES

A man shields a woman from the threat of gunfire

city best known for bachelorette parties, professional conferences and boys' weekends away. And it wasn't just the city's wide-open attitude that may have made it an inviting target. The glitzy boulevard is a symbol of our culture of decadence: there's a reason that the Islamic State released a 44-minute propaganda video in May calling for supporters to conduct attacks there.

But it is also now a place that exemplifies an American attribute, limited not just to Nevada: resigned resilience. At 8:30 a.m. on Oct. 3, less than 36 hours after the worst mass shooting in modern history began upstairs, guests at the Mandalay Bay were back on the casino floor. The slot machines were humming. Two poker tables were in full swing. Racing fans filled the sports book. It was hard to tell whether the reaction came from strength or acquiescence. But there it was: another roll of the dice, another pull of the lever. —*With reporting by* SEAN GREGORY/ NEW YORK; *and* TESSA BERENSON, NASH JENKINS, ZEKE J. MILLER *and* MAYA RHODAN/ WASHINGTON

THE LOST COLONY

PUERTO RICO AFTER THE STORM

BY KARL VICK/SAN JUAN

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDRES KUDACKI FOR TIME

Wilmair Flores, 55, poses in her damaged home in central Barranquitas on Oct. 2

A BIG STORM CAN RAKE UP A LOT.

Ten days after Hurricane Maria roared across Puerto Rico, joggers circling the capital's Condado lagoon were delighted by the sight of manatees, the gentle herbivores that sailors once mistook for mermaids. It's not a routine sight in San Juan, and it was a rare uplifting one in a catalog of all the storm had laid bare: nearly every branch of every tree, with the interiors of homes opened like dollhouses—and, not least, the lopsided dynamic between Washington and the U.S. territory that might be best understood as America's Last Colony.

Maria could be the most destructive Atlantic storm on record. Research by the Climate Impact Lab suggests that no larger area has been hit so comprehensively anywhere in the world in the past 60 years. Yet the storm somehow managed to reinforce one thing: the historically paternalistic relationship between mainland and island. The inequity became more pronounced with the passing of each muggy day in the storm's aftermath. The federal government's response was markedly slower and less attentive to Puerto Rico after Maria than to Texas after Harvey and Florida after Irma. And when the devastation finally came home to the White House, almost a week after Maria's Sept. 20 landfall, what President Trump most conspicuously doled out to the victims was tart advice followed by angry remonstration.

To the victims of Harvey, Trump contributed $1 million from his personal fortune. But faced with far worse damage in Puerto Rico, he assumed the role of put-upon overseer. Trump framed the disaster on Sept. 25 by tweeting about the island's financial debts. On Oct. 3, he opened what was intended as a healing visit by observing, "You've thrown our budget a little out of whack." In between, he lambasted San Juan Mayor Carmen Yulín Cruz—"such poor leadership … they want everything to be done for them"—after she relayed Puerto Ricans' complaints that aid was not reaching them.

"Everything, I lost everything," said Diego Rivera, in the poor San Juan neighborhood directly below the Spanish battlements that are a symbol of Puerto Rico. It was Oct. 1, 11 days after the storm ripped off his roof. "And we're still waiting. They haven't done nothing yet."

What ends up being done, and how, is an especially momentous question for Puerto Rico because of how broken the island was even before the storm. Bankrupt but unable to escape its debts, its position at landfall was as fragile as the electrical grid that a year ago collapsed entirely on its own. For nearly a

Darieliz Michelle Lopez and her two children sit on a sofa where their apartment once stood in San Isidro on Sept. 28

Long lines for gasoline, like this one in San Juan on Sept. 30, were a common sight after the storm; President Trump tosses a roll of paper towels into

decade, people have been leaving in historic numbers; more Puerto Ricans now live on the mainland than on the island, and Maria will accelerate the exodus. The Climate Impact Lab estimates that the storm could knock back per capita economic output by 21% over the next 15 years.

It's possible the storm will underscore the message many Puerto Ricans have already absorbed: that a population of brown-skinned, Spanish-speaking Americans counts for less. Yet senior Puerto Rican officials reckon that, along with sea cows, the storm can also produce a fresh start. Trump himself provided the first evidence of the transformation during his trip. Speaking of the territory's $73 billion debt, the President said, "We're going to have to wipe that out." A White House official later disavowed the promise, and a recovery package is only just taking shape in Congress. But it was wind at the back of those urging both sides, supplicant island and historical master, to escape a shared history.

IF PUERTO RICO WERE A STATE, it would rank in area near Connecticut, the nation's richest. But in terms of income, it would displace Mississippi as the poorest of the poor. The poverty rate is about 45%.

"If we're going to rebuild and reconstruct, it has to be for the right reasons," says Cruz, the San Juan mayor. "We have to reshape our society. As awful as this has been, it's an opportunity." In her baseball cap and glasses, Cruz has been at the vortex of the political storm that followed the meteorological one. She called out FEMA and parried the fusillade from Trump. Yet even she hesitated to publicly broach the issue of whether the emergency could restore the island's autonomy. "We are all shying away from that, because we don't want the discourse to change," she tells TIME. "We don't want it to be about politics, we want it to be about lives."

"Of course," she adds, "politics affect lives."

A population already reeling …

DEBT
Per capita
$20,366
PUERTO RICO
$2,144
U.S.

UNEMPLOYMENT
August 2017
10.1%
PUERTO RICO
4.4%
U.S.

WAGES
Average weekly
$509
PUERTO RICO
$1,121
U.S.

Puerto Rico began September in its usual place, on the dim edge of Americans' awareness. Just after Maria made landfall, a poll found that nearly half of Americans did not know Puerto Ricans were U.S. citizens. That likely wouldn't be true a month later, but the confusion is understandable, given the island's muddy history with the mainland.

Claimed for Spain by Christopher Columbus on his second trip to the New World, Puerto Rico ("Rich Port") was taken along with Cuba and other islands by the U.S. in the 1898 Spanish-American War. It has remained part of the U.S. ever since, in no small part by choice. Repeatedly if narrowly, voters have opted to maintain the status quo as a U.S. territory, though with 10 times as many people as the other four U.S. territories combined. Puerto Ricans are indeed citizens, but they have no voting representative in Congress and cannot vote for President. The commonwealth arrangement leaves Puerto Rico in the gray zone that is familiar in both Latin America and the Caribbean, where economic, political and intermittent military domination by the U.S. has been a fact of life ever since the Monroe Doctrine. Only in Puerto Rico, it's more direct.

When the U.S. Navy needed a bombing range, it set one up on Vieques, an islet off the main island's eastern shore. In 1976, Congress gave Puerto Rico a financial boon by allowing companies to operate there tax-free. Twenty years later, Congress began to phase out the law. The island's government continued to spend, however, bridging the growing chasm by issuing bonds it could not pay off. Legally unable to declare bankruptcy, it surrendered control of its finances, again by an act of Congress, to a federally appointed oversight board. "This board is strangely reminiscent of the Executive Council, which ruled the island between 1900 and 1917," writes Jorge Duany of Florida International University. Puerto Ricans call it the "junta."

NOTE: DAMAGE IS A HIGH-RANGE ESTIMATE. IRMA ESTIMATE INCLUDES DAMAGE TO GEORGIA, PUERTO RICO AND THE U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS. SOURCES: MERCATUS CENTER; BLS; MOODY'S ANALYTICS; CENSUS

a crowd as he hands out supplies at Calvary Chapel, in Guaynabo, on Oct. 3; in Morovis, people bathe in a river on Oct. 1

Then came Maria.

In one day, the storm utterly transformed the island physically. A landscape that had been a lush green became the dun color of trees stripped of every leaf, even pine needles. Puerto Rico's hillsides resembled Vietnam's after titanic battles, ghostly moonscapes devoid of life. In greater San Juan, where more than half of the population lives, once familiar vistas were so transformed that drivers lost their bearings, distracted by buildings that had been hidden by foliage or billboards that were no longer there.

Outside the city, where the storm hit hardest, only the freeway cloverleafs showed growth, their shoulders crowded with parked cars so the drivers could grab a signal from the rare operating cell tower. Along with the creaking electrical grid, Maria took down the water supply. In Río Grande a week after the storm, a woman was shampooing her hair above rapids where a bald man washed his socks.

At 34 deaths, even the updated official casualty toll is astonishingly low, though subject to revision. It testifies to the efforts of island officials who placed their faith in minute-by-minute forecasts, rather than the prayers that some local preachers had urged to maintain the island's extraordinary record of near misses. Maria stayed the course. Officially 2 m.p.h. shy of Category 5 at landfall on the southeastern shore, it raked the entire island. There was no intact corner from which to stage a recovery effort.

"We were completely disconnected," says Governor Ricardo Rosselló, who spent the first days answering fresh emergencies. Some 2,000 people were rescued from flash floods, and then a damaged dam required a massive evacuation.

The feds had their own excuses for a late start. San Juan's port and airport were stricken, and the main aviation radar—damaged atop a wooded summit—took three days to reach. FEMA staff were already on the island dealing with the far lighter damage from Irma, but as Trump observed, miles of open sea slowed everything. "There is a thing called the Atlantic Ocean," Trump said on Sept. 26, the day after the magnitude of the disaster finally sank in at the White House. The tide was turned by TV images, plus reports from two senior officials who had just arrived on the island. Trump had spent the weekend in Bedminster, N.J., immersed in details of the latest travel ban and the feud he had picked with the NFL.

... receives a devastating hit

PUERTO RICO (MARIA)

$95B
DAMAGE

$27,900
PER CAPITA

FLORIDA (IRMA)

$83B
DAMAGE

$4,000
PER CAPITA

TEXAS (HARVEY)

$108B
DAMAGE

$3,900
PER CAPITA

THERE'S NO ONE WAY to provide aid after a disaster. When Maria hit, David Darg was in Mexico City, helping to feed victims of the earthquake. Five days later, the vice president of Operation Blessing, a faith-based aid group, landed in San Juan with an aid shipment in the form of checked baggage containing four crates of hand-size solar lights, ingenious creations that fold flat for charging during the day and pop open to provide eight hours of light. He came alone. "It's been a season of disasters, and everyone's stretched a little thin," he says.

The official command center in Puerto Rico was a sleek air-conditioned convention center that had every appearance of a well-run machine, from laminated IDs to digital signboards. At daily news conferences, Rosselló, flanked by FEMA officials and a three-star general, read out the metrics—another million meals at the port, another 5,000 troops. The only problem was that almost none of it seemed to be reaching the countryside. Or even neighborhoods down the street.

The bottleneck was truckers. With hundreds of cell towers down, Rosselló tells TIME, "We couldn't communicate to let them know we needed them." They'd had the same problem reaching the territory's 78 mayors, who were to carry the aid from 11 distribution points to their constituents. Trying to contact them by cell, they'd reached just six.

Then someone had a thought: radio. The medium

TRUMP: EVAN VUCCI—AP/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK

that had been a lifeline in disasters for decades would move the Maria response off the dime. Radio stations broadcast a summons to the mayors and 55 showed up the next day. When truckers heard the call, goods finally started leaving the port. Between Sept. 29 and Sept. 30, Rosselló says, the number of trucks doubled from 400 to 800.

It was too late, however, to salvage the political disaster. By then, acting Homeland Security Secretary Elaine Duke had called the stalled operation "really, a good news story." Watching on CNN, Mayor Cruz struggled to contain her reaction. "Damn it, this is not a good news story," she said. "This this is a 'people are dying' story."

The relief operation that Cruz mounted from the arena named for Roberto Clemente (the baseball legend who died delivering earthquake relief) doubled as an insurgency. "I just do not understand why FEMA can't seem to find their way out of a paper bag," she said on Sept. 29 amid pallets of canned goods and diapers contributed by businesses. The next day, FEMA sent over several pallets as well, and it was all being packed into boxes as Cruz faced a stream of camera crews. Trump had attacked her on Twitter for criticizing the flailing effort. "Politically motivated ingrates," he wrote.

Cruz was fine with the attention, but she declined to take the bait. "Seriously, I have more important things to do," she told Senator Elizabeth Warren, when the Massachusetts Democrat called to ask what Congress should do for Puerto Rico. Cruz brought up the Jones Act, a 1920 statute unknown to most Americans but a household term in Puerto Rico. Cruz says it raises prices on the island by 30% because it bars foreign vessels from transporting U.S. cargo between U.S. ports. Trump suspended it to help the aftermath of Irma and Harvey, but initially hesitated to give Puerto Rico the same break, explaining that "there are a lot of people who work in the shipping industry that don't want the Jones Act lifted."

On Capitol Hill, the President's inelegance may actually help Puerto Rico. The Hispanic vote matters to the House Republicans facing re-election in competitive districts, and as the recovery package takes shape, political benefit may flow from taking the side of the shattered island. In any event, only a massive infusion of federal funds will produce the kind of reconstruction that, as Rosselló put it, "shows a way forward, to make of this catastrophe in the long term a story of rebuilding, rethinking and putting Puerto Rico in the vanguard."

It may not even be wishful thinking. If both mainland and island agree that it's possible, a new future could be sketched on a slate, and a territory, that Maria wiped clean. —*With reporting by* MASSIMO CALABRESI, ELIZABETH DIAS, PHILIP ELLIOTT *and* ZEKE J. MILLER/WASHINGTON; *and* TARA JOHN/LONDON ◻

A man who has lived since he was 9 in San Isidro, outside San Juan, poses for a portrait in his neighborhood on Sept. 28

Frontiers of Medicine

An Individual Approach to Breast Cancer

From diagnosis to treatment, breast-cancer care is all about finding the right options for the right woman at the right time

By Alice Park

THE ANNOUNCEMENT FROM JULIA LOUIS-DREYFUS that she has been diagnosed with breast cancer came with both a revelation and a warning. Her tweet revealing her diagnosis also contained some important reminders: that breast cancer is the most common type of cancer among women in the U.S., affecting 1 in 8 over their lifetime, and that while the disease does not discriminate, screening and treatment strategies, especially in the U.S., often do.

A cancer diagnosis is one of the most personal experiences a woman can go through. Yet the strategies that doctors have used for detecting and treating the disease are only just beginning to be optimized for individual women. It wasn't until 2009, for example, that recommendations for breast-cancer screening with mammograms were changed from ones that broadly called for most women over 40 to get tested every year. Now most expert groups agree that women should start getting mammograms at age 45 or 50, repeating the process about every other year. The exact schedule should be determined after women and their doctors consider risk factors like family history and smoking habits. It became clear that screening advice needed to become more personalized after data failed to show that the previous guidelines led to fewer breast-cancer deaths or even helped women live longer with the disease. Broader screening, it turned out, often contributed to a high rate of false-positive readings, which prompted many women to get unnecessary testing and biopsies that came with serious complications. It simply doesn't make sense to apply the same advice to all women about when and how often they should get mammograms, when the risk for breast cancer varies depending on who the woman is.

Treatments and cancer care are also becoming more bespoke, reflecting what doctors are learning about who benefits, and who doesn't, from certain therapies. Women now have more information about their disease—down to the very DNA of their tumors—than ever before, so they can make more informed decisions about how aggressively they want to be treated. Scientists also have an evolving understanding of how women can better endure treatment with fewer side effects—and they have plenty of options to do so, from getting more sleep to practicing yoga or eating healthfully. As breast-cancer care gets more personal, women are becoming empowered to make better decisions, and research is even revealing what they should know about the potential biases of the doctors who treat them. A breast-cancer diagnosis is still a life-changing journey. But now women have more of the custom tools they need to effectively navigate it. □

Why more women are getting a double mastectomy

By Alexandra Sifferlin

DESPITE HAVING MORE TREATMENT options, women with cancer in one breast are increasingly choosing to remove both breasts—even though experts say the procedure does not necessarily lead to better outcomes.

A recent study published in *JAMA Surgery* found that the increase is driven in part by their surgeons. Doctors generally discourage contralateral prophylactic mastectomy—also known as CPM, or the removal of a healthy breast when the other has cancer—for women at an average risk for additional breast cancer. They do recommend it for women at a higher risk, like those with a mutation in the BRCA gene, which greatly increases the risk of getting the disease. Even so, the rate at which women with cancer in one breast chose to remove both increased nearly sixfold from 1998 to 2011, largely among younger women with early-stage unilateral breast cancer and without genetic risk factors—in other words, women who are candidates for less aggressive treatment.

Survival for these women isn't higher than it is for women who choose less aggressive options like lumpectomy, also called breast-conserving surgery, in which only a portion of the affected breast is removed. A March 2016 study by researchers at the Duke Cancer Institute looked at about 4,000 women who had breast-cancer surgery and found that removing both breasts did not markedly improve a woman's quality of life.

So why are women choosing the more invasive option more often? There are likely several reasons for what experts are calling a surge in women undergoing CPM—including a woman's doctor. The study in *JAMA Surgery* found that surgeons account for 20% of the variation in rates of women removing both breasts.

In the study, researchers surveyed 5,080 women with early-stage breast cancer and an average risk for cancer in the other breast, along with 377 of their surgeons. They found that while the doctors largely agreed on what they would initially recommend—breast-conserving surgery over CPM—there was variability in what was ultimately performed. A woman had only a 4% chance of undergoing CPM if she went to a surgeon who was among those who were the most reluctant to perform the procedure and most favored breast-conserving surgery. But if a woman went to a surgeon who was among those who were the most open to performing CPM and favored breast-conserving surgery the least, the likelihood of getting CPM was 34%.

The most common reason surgeons gave for being willing to perform CPM, even if they were initially reluctant, was "to give patients peace of mind" and "avoid patient conflict"—not to reduce recurrence or improve survival.

"The emotional reactions to cancer frequently prime patients to desire the most aggressive approach," says study author Dr. Steven Katz, a professor in the School of Public Health at the University of Michigan. "Our results underscore that most surgeons today favor less aggressive approaches to surgery, and it's challenging for them to communicate with their patients that bigger is not better."

In previous research, Katz found that a woman's fear about cancer recurrence or her desire to avoid regret can also lead to a decision between her and her doctor to choose more aggressive surgery.

Since there is variability in what doctors ultimately agree to perform, women may want to consider visiting more than one doctor before deciding on a treatment plan, Katz says. His research shows that 95% of breast-cancer patients are treated by the first physician they see. "If a patient is not totally in line with what's being recommended, get a second opinion," he says. □

39%

Drop in breast-cancer death rates from 1989 to 2015; 322,600 breast-cancer deaths were averted during that period

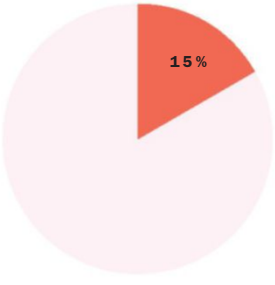
89.7%

Increase in the rate at which women with cancer in one breast chose double mastectomy from 1998 to 2011

SIXFOLD

Increase in the rate at which women with cancer in one breast chose double mastectomy from 1998 to 2011

HOW COMMON IS BREAST CANCER?



Female breast cancer represents 15% of all new cancer cases in the U.S.

About 1 in 8 U.S. women is diagnosed with breast cancer

ARE ALL EXPERTS WORTH BELIEVING?

MAGAZINE MEDIA

Better. Believe It.

When it comes to influencers, magazine editors are the originals. No one knows their stuff—or YOU—better. Their authentic, authoritative content makes magazine media more trusted than any other. No wonder its print, online, mobile and video audience has grown to 1.8 billion.

Experts you can trust. That's something to believe in.

#BelieveMagMedia | BelieveMagMedia.com

Sources: MPA, Total (Duplicated) Magazine Media 360° Audience, Jan-May YTD 2017, Brand Audience Report; Simmons Research, Multi-Media Engagement Study, Spring 2016.

6

Frontiers of Medicine

Surprising things that may improve breast-cancer treatment

Being diagnosed with breast cancer can make a person feel powerless, but there are some things women can do to potentially improve how they feel throughout the process. Here are some strategies recommended by experts—and others that are still being explored—that may enhance the effectiveness and reduce the side effects of treatment. —A.S.

PHYSICAL ACTIVITY

Exercising during treatment won't be easy for everyone, but it can be worthwhile when women feel up to it. "Exercise is one of the best things women can do for themselves," says Dr. Ann Partridge, director of the Program for Young Women with Breast Cancer at Dana-Farber Cancer Institute. "Walking three to five times a week can make a huge difference in how you feel during treatment." It's good for the brain too. A study of 87 breast-cancer survivors found that those who did 12 weeks of exercise scored better on some cognitive tests than women who didn't exercise.

HEALTHY EATING

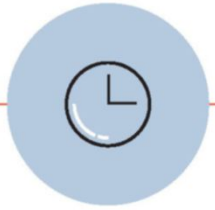
A healthy diet filled with lots of fruits and vegetables, which contain fiber and antioxidants, is good preventive medicine. When researchers in a 2016 study asked women what they had eaten as teenagers, those who reported eating about three servings of fruit a day as teens had a 25% lower risk of developing breast cancer later on than those who ate less. Eating well throughout treatment is also helpful, says Partridge. "Take care of your temple," she says. You don't necessarily have to start juicing, but "don't overdo it with carbs or comfort foods."

YOGA

Up to 80% of women with breast cancer in North America use complementary or integrative therapies, and one of the most studied of those is yoga. A steady practice may even lessen the side effects of treatment. In a 2017 study, doing yoga at least twice a week improved sleep and reduced daytime drowsiness in women with breast cancer. It may also help after treatment is over. A 2016 study of 200 breast-cancer survivors found that women who practiced yoga had less fatigue and fewer markers of inflammation than those who didn't.

SLEEP

Sleep is critical for good health, and experts recommend that adults get seven to nine hours each night. Growing evidence also suggests that the amount of sleep a woman gets each night is linked to a better chance of survival from breast cancer. In a 2016 study, researchers discovered that women who slept less than five hours a night on average before they were diagnosed with breast cancer were nearly 1.5 times as likely to die from their disease as women who reported sleeping seven to eight hours a night.



TREATMENT TIMING

Research is still in the very early stages. But in 2014, researchers at the Weizmann Institute of Science found evidence in mice that cancer treatment might be more effective in the evening. In their study, a mouse's daytime production of steroid hormones hindered the effects of certain receptors that are targeted by cancer drugs. Scientists don't know if humans may be more receptive to treatment at night, but if evening treatment proves effective, shifting care a few hours may be a simple way to make medications more powerful.

MEDITATION

It's also important to take good care of your mind, says Partridge. "When you are emotionally not doing well, you feel things more physically." Partridge says that when people feel tired, stressed or upset, they may perceive their physical symptoms of cancer as worse. She recommends adopting calming practices like mindfulness meditation. A 2014 review of research found that meditation is effective at treating symptoms of mood disorders that are common among women with a recent breast-cancer diagnosis, like anxiety and depression.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY JAMES KIM

CANCER STARTED IN MY CELLS, BUT QUICKLY SPREAD TO MY WALLET, LIVELIHOOD, AND PSYCHE.
A cancer diagnosis affects every part of your life. Which is why the American Cancer Society does much more than breakthrough research. We also provide free rides to chemo, a live 24/7 helpline, and free lodging near hospitals. Beating cancer takes more than medicine, which is why we're attacking from every angle.
Please give what you can today at cancer.org.
American Cancer Society®
Attacking From Every Angle™

Frontiers of Medicine

I treated breast cancer for years as a doctor. Then I was diagnosed

By Pamela Munster, M.D.

I WAS A CANCER EXPERT LONG BEFORE I WAS A PATIENT: in control and invulnerable. Yet all of that changed with one phone call. Seeing the familiar number from my university's radiology department, I knew it would be a "finding of concern." With a pang of sadness, I wondered which of my patients I would soon be calling with bad news.

But the bad news was about my recent mammogram. Nothing prepared me for the sickening sense of foreboding and fear that gripped me that day. At 48, I was not ready for breast cancer.

For me, unlike most of my patients, the decisions about which treatments to choose were the easy parts. I never doubted that a double mastectomy was the right choice, since I had a strong family history of the disease. Yet as a woman, I still wrestled with the need for such a drastic step. When I thought it was all behind me, after almost a year of tests, frequent visits to the doctor's office and multiple surgeries, I found out that I carried the BRCA gene. This inherited gene is likely going to affect other family members and made me worry about my 10-year-old daughter.

The BRCA gene puts me at high risk for ovarian cancer, which meant I needed to remove my ovaries and fallopian tubes. The night before the surgery to remove my ovaries, I asked my friend and patient how it would feel to have my ovaries removed. She stared at me with bewilderment. "How can the thief of so many ovaries ask a question like this?" she asked. Although I could explain the surgery and its medical and emotional consequences, I had no idea how I would feel about losing more precious body parts and going into menopause overnight.

Doctors live in a world of statistics and probabilities, and we often use numbers to reassure patients. These numbers feel very different when it is your cancer. I knew there was already a 2%-3% chance of finding ovarian cancer during that surgery. As a doctor, I interpreted this to mean that there was a 97% chance of being cancer-free—something I thought should be reassuring to patients. Yet none of the favorable statistics let me rest until I got the call from the pathologist that I was cancer-free.

Oncologists are among the most compassionate doctors I know. Yet it takes a toll to stay in a difficult conversation, and few of us can truly comprehend the profound sense of upheaval that a cancer diagnosis brings. It was difficult to be out of control, at the mercy of the kindness and skills of medical professionals.

But I am lucky. Buoyed by friends and family, I continue to work in cancer research and with the most courageous patients. Most important, I am more at ease with difficult conversations in clinic now, because as a patient I know I needed to have them.

Munster is a co-leader of the Center for BRCA Research at the University of California, San Francisco

'Doctors live in a world of statistics and probabilities, and we often use numbers to reassure patients. These numbers feel very different when it is your cancer.'

How DNA can guide cancer treatments

Genes already reveal a lot about how breast cancer works. Doctors test for inherited mutations that can make women more vulnerable to developing the disease, such as those affecting BRCA1 and BRCA2. About 10% of people with breast cancer in the U.S. have at least one of these, and knowing that allows a woman to choose the most appropriate treatment for her.

But perhaps the greatest value of genetic testing today is the ability to analyze the DNA of tumors themselves. Commercial tests as well as proprietary ones that major cancer centers have developed are increasingly used to scan dozens of genes for mutations that can predict how likely a cancer is to return. A genetic score that suggests a low chance of recurrence may help women choose less aggressive treatment—including preserving their breasts rather than having a mastectomy.

Genetic information can even identify the women who don't need chemotherapy. Recent studies suggest that nearly half of women diagnosed with certain types of early-stage breast cancer can avoid the grueling effects of the toxic treatment and still have the same five-year survival rate as women who get chemo. "These tests are giving people the confidence to begin to back off on chemotherapy for some women," says Dr. Eric Winer, director of the breast oncology center at Dana-Farber Cancer Institute. "With these tests, we are able to be that much more refined and precise about how we give treatments." —A.P.

5% to 10%

Percentage of breast cancers attributable to inherited gene mutations

21 to 70

Number of genes being studied in breast-cancer tumors

ILLUSTRATION BY CHANTAL BENNETT

Ulysses S. Grant, circa 1865, before his rise to the White House

The Rest Is History

Best-selling biographer Ron Chernow finds his timeliest subject yet

By Lily Rothman

ABOVE THE ENTRANCE TO GRANT'S TOMB IN NEW YORK CITY, FIGURES representing Peace and Victory frame an inscription. The slogan's brevity belies the difficulty of the idea: LET US HAVE PEACE.

On a recent afternoon, the biographer Ron Chernow perched on a nearby bench to discuss his latest offering, *Grant*, a sweeping study of the Civil War general and U.S. President whose body lies within that monument. Gazing up at North America's largest mausoleum, Chernow recalls that Walt Whitman dubbed Ulysses S. Grant and Abraham Lincoln the two "towering majestic figures" of the Civil War.

"Most living Americans can't understand why someone like Walt Whitman would have talked about Ulysses S. Grant in the same breath," Chernow says. "If they came up here, I think most of them would be startled."

For a man who studies the past, Chernow has a knack for connecting with the present. *Titan,* his John D. Rockefeller biography, emerged in time to draw comparisons to Bill Gates, amid antitrust complaints facing Microsoft. And *Alexander Hamilton* had a modern message for Lin-Manuel Miranda, whose musical *Hamilton* has enthralled the nation. Chernow chalks up his track record as one for "the annals of dumb luck," but *Grant* has the potential to be his timeliest book yet.

PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIK TANNER

Chernow says the experience of writing a biography is an "exquisite pain"—a phrase his mother used to describe childbirth

CHERNOW WANTED to write novels; the only history course he took as an undergraduate was about Ireland, so he could understand *Ulysses* better. But he wound up focusing on nonfiction, and won the National Book Award on his first go. In the years that followed, the soft-spoken native New Yorker turned from tycoons (Rockefeller, J.P. Morgan, the Warburgs) to political leaders (Hamilton, George Washington). He thus became what Salman Rushdie calls an expert in "the values of America as expressed through the lives of the Founding Fathers."

As Chernow leaves the founding era behind, biography as a vehicle for American values will only get trickier—and more urgent. The Civil War has always had die-hard history buffs, but right now Americans are wrestling with its meaning in unusually public ways. As conversations about states' rights, federalism, racial injustice, white supremacy and civil divisiveness take place, there's a natural tendency to look for answers in a past explosive moment. But engage in those conversations even a little bit and one reason why they're so difficult becomes clear: many people still disagree on the basic facts of what happened. "This is a case where knowledge of history is not just a nice adornment to your life," Chernow says, "but actually is going to affect how you respond to a lot of different contemporary issues."

The details of Grant's life are subject to the confusion that engulfs the period too. It's no coincidence that Chernow's book clocks in at more than 1,000 pages. Its subject became a Civil War hero for wringing surrender from Robert E. Lee but is also dogged by rumors of being a corrupt politician, not to mention a drunk whose memoirs were ghostwritten by Mark Twain. This is a man who was once known as "Useless Grant," who ended up leading his country in war and peace, taking a grand world tour, losing his fortune in a Ponzi scheme and writing a best-selling memoir as his final act. (He also had a family and, by way of disclosure, this writer is married to a many-generations-removed descendant.) He battled addiction and an albatross of a father. He was ensnared in scandal and escaped assassination attempts. He also oversaw a period of such rapid progress toward equality that its ramifications are still felt today.

And that's where the real disagreements set in. Behind one of the more fundamental feuds about the Civil War is what's known as the Lost Cause narrative, a view that emphasizes the Confederate fight for states' rights. (Chernow points to the historical record left by Confederate and Union fighters, which shows a general agreement that the war was about slavery.) The theory also holds that the South lost the war because even Lee's military genius couldn't topple the brute force of Northern manpower and matériel. As a result, the Lost Cause narrative would lay claim, for many years, to Grant's military reputation. But there are clues that things are changing.

> **'In order to build up Robert E. Lee, you've got to knock down Ulysses S. Grant.'**
>
> **JOHN F. MARSZALEK,** executive director of the Ulysses S. Grant Association

"In order to build up Robert E. Lee, you've got to knock down Ulysses S. Grant," says John F. Marszalek, executive director of the Ulysses S. Grant Association and editor of a new annotated edition of *The Personal Memoirs of Ulysses S. Grant,* which will also be released in October. It's an ironic choice of words as statues of Lee are literally being brought down. Chernow believes that Confederate monuments should be moved to museums so they can serve to educate rather than endorse. As for occasional talk of removing Grant statues because he once issued an order expelling Jews from a military area under his control, Chernow says the people who call for that usually don't know the full story, in which Grant made up for his error with later public support of the Jewish community.

In what Chernow describes as a "historical seesaw," Grant was on top during the war. After Grant's death, it was Lee's turn. Now Grant is back—maybe to stay.

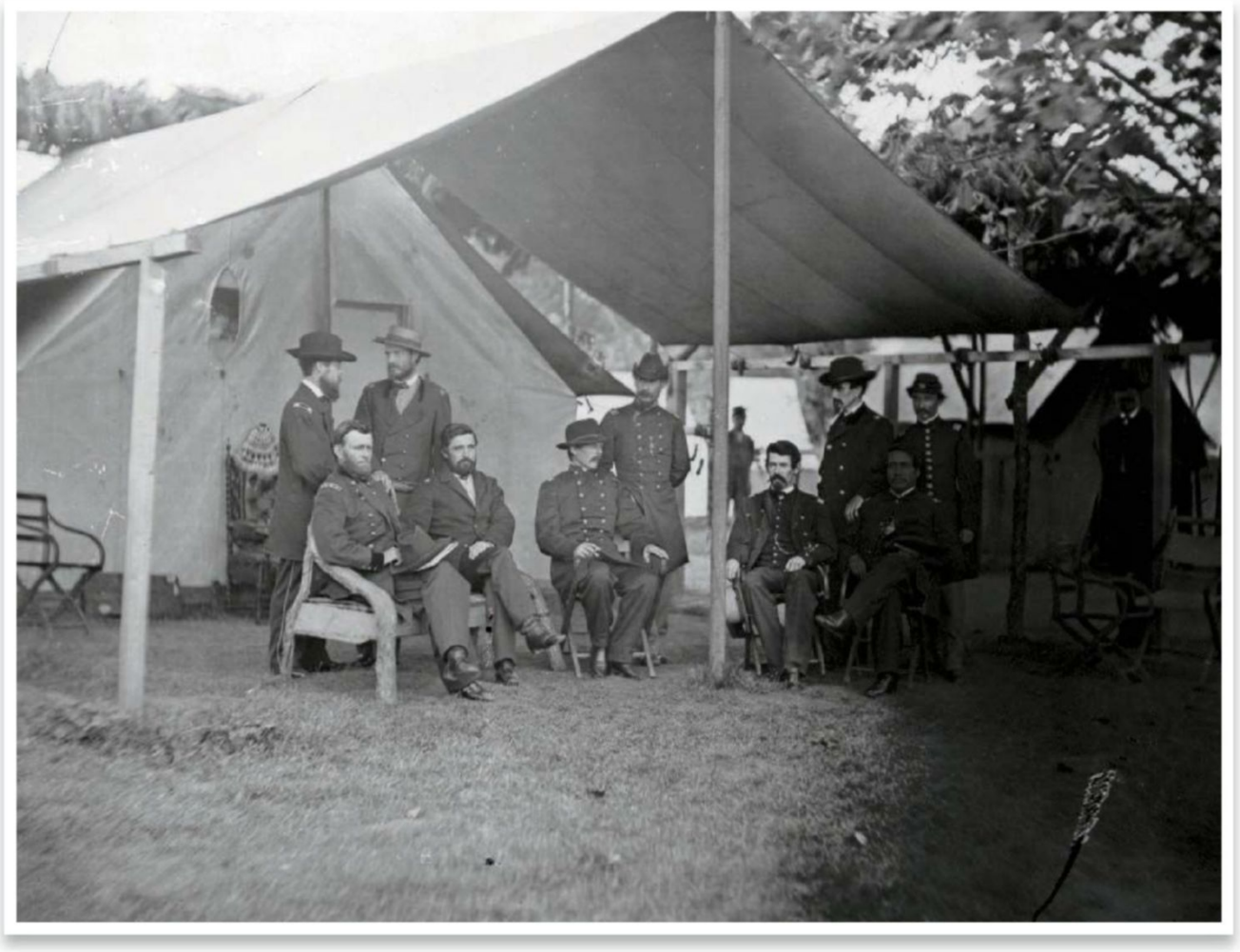
PERHAPS ONE of the most obvious signs that change has already begun can be seen in how Grant shakes out in lists of the best and worst Presidents. In 1948, when Arthur M. Schlesinger asked historians to rate the Chief Executives, Grant landed with a thump in the failure category as one of the two worst Presidents ever. (Sorry, Warren G. Harding.) He stayed in the basement for decades. Yet in a 2017 C-SPAN ranking, he came in at a rather healthy 22nd place. Historians including H.W. Brands and Ronald C. White have also recently taken Grant as their subject, and the Grant Library at Mississippi State is moving to new digs in November. Chernow calls it "a bull market for Grant."

Chernow highlights one reason for the shift. "Ultimately," he writes in *Grant,* "the appraisal of Grant's presidency rests upon posterity's view of Reconstruction."

That period after the Civil War remains one of the most contentious episodes in the nation's past. Over the course of roughly a decade, under federal oversight and with Grant's support for their cause, freed slaves won liberties that would in many cases not be seen again for nearly a century. Chernow recalls that he was shocked to find a telegram that had been sent to Grant in 1867 from New Orleans with a report on the desegregation of the streetcars. The very rights that were so longed for in the mid-20th century had already been won and exercised, a reminder of how easily progress can be undone.

Freedmen soon began to lose much of what they'd won thanks to political maneuverings, national apathy and a concerted effort to reinstitute oppression as the Jim Crow system developed. The Lost Cause view of Reconstruction—as a period of federal overreach and failed reform—came to dominate too as what Chernow calls historical amnesia set in.

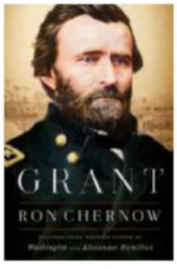
"*Reconstruction* was the dirty little word we were taught, whether you grew up in the North or in the South," echoes Christy Coleman, CEO of the American Civil War Museum in Richmond, Va. Because Reconstruction had such a reputation as a failure, for a long time relatively little scholarship on the period was undertaken, says Coleman, who has made news as a black woman at the head of a Civil War institution. Now she sees historians approaching the era with fewer assumptions—and, accordingly, a wide range of Americans reconsidering it. It's "an extraordinary outcome," she says. Hence, the seesaw's swing.



Chernow calls Grant, seated at far left, surrounded by his military staff, "a man really free of hate"

Chernow doesn't see his job as political. Rather, he says, he offers facts so people can build informed opinions. But helping Americans get to know their own past has new urgency in light of the undeniable divisions in society today. "Politics boils down to the stories we tell ourselves. And unfortunately, we tell ourselves different stories," Chernow says. "Unless we know where we've been as a country, we don't know where we are or where we are going."

FOR CHERNOW, life post-*Hamilton* has been "enchanting" but hasn't changed very much, even though he gets a cut of the theatrical bounty and the book has sold more than 1 million copies across all formats. Things were good before, and they're only that much better now, he says tactfully. But he's not shy about acknowledging the musical's impact on other people. It has been a unique cure for what he calls "creeping historical illiteracy" among the public, and he hopes that Miranda will someday return to history for inspiration—though "not even Lin wants to compete with *Hamilton,*" he jokes. For now, if *Grant* can help make Reconstruction less of a "black hole" in the past, Chernow will be happy.



THE REAL DEAL

To be sure that Grant's memoir wasn't ghostwritten, Chernow looked at the handwriting on each page of the manuscript. That day of research, he says, was when he felt closest to his subject.

And the collective future of the nation is not the only matter on which the past can shine a light. In all the success of *Hamilton,* one of the most poignant aspects for Chernow has been the reminder of how we can look for individual guidance from the past. The audience members to whom Chernow has spoken, just after they've absorbed the musical's meditations on Hamilton's legacy, tend to wonder aloud what their own impact will be.

When it comes to Grant, Chernow has a suspicion that this effect will be magnified. After all, he notes, this book is unlike anything he's ever written in that its subject—who, in a typical anecdote, lost the key to a trunk of clean clothes just before he was supposed to meet Lincoln at the White House—doesn't seem destined for success. "I'm sure there are many more people who can identify with failure and hardship in life," Chernow says, "than with the success of an Alexander Hamilton or a John D. Rockefeller."

Readers may take inspiration in knowing that the man in the dirty clothes became President. They may also take to heart that great men and women can rise and fall and rise again—and that for Grant, such was the case even though his success has not yet included realization of the hope he expressed in 1868: "Let us have peace." History has its eyes on us. ☐

PREVIOUS PAGE: APIC/GETTY IMAGES; GRANT: CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES

ADVERTISEMENT

★★★★★

"The quality of their watches is equal to many that can go for ten times the price or more."

— Jeff from McKinney, TX

STONE COLD FOX

So good-looking...heads will turn. So unbelievably-priced...jaws will drop.

Every once in a while a timepiece comes along that's so incredibly good looking, masterfully equipped and jaw-droppingly priced, that it stops us stone cold. A watch that can take you seamlessly from the 18th hole to the board room. A watch that blurs the line betweens sports watch and dress watch. We're talking the ***Blue Stone Chronograph***, and it sits at the top of the discerning gentleman's watch list.

Striking in appearance and fully equipped with features, this is a watch of substance. The ***Blue Stone*** merges the durability of steel with the precision of crystal movement that's accurate to 0.2 seconds a day. Both an analog and digital watch, the ***Blue Stone*** keeps time with pinpoint accuracy in two time zones.

The watch's handsome steel blue dial seamlessly blends an analog watch face with a stylish digital display. It's a stopwatch, calendar, and alarm. Plus, the ***Blue Stone*** resists water up to 30 meters, making it up for water adventures.

A watch with these features would easily cost you thousands if you shopped big names. But overcharging to justify an inflated brand name makes us blue in the face. Which is why we make superior looking and performing timepieces priced to please. Decades of experience in engineering enables Stauer to put quality on your wrist and keep your money in your pocket.

Your satisfaction is 100% guaranteed. Experience the ***Blue Stone Chronograph*** for 60 days. If you're not convinced you got excellence for less, send it back for a refund of the item price.

Time is running out. Originally priced at $395, the ***Blue Stone Chronograph*** was already generating buzz among watch connoisseurs, but with the price slashed to **$69**, we can't guarantee this limited-edition timepiece will last. So, call today!

TAKE 83% OFF INSTANTLY!

When you use your OFFER CODE

Stauer Blue Stone Chronograph non-offer code price ~~$395~~†

Offer Code Price **$69** + S&P **Save $326**

You must use the offer code to get our special price.

1-800-333-2045

Your Offer Code: BSW180-01

Please use this code when you order to receive your discount.

Stauer®
14101 Southcross Drive W.,
Dept. BSW180-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337
www.stauer.com

ACCREDITED BUSINESS **Rating of A+**

CONSUMER AFFAIRS ACCREDITED

† *Special price only for customers using the offer code versus the price on Stauer.com without your offer code.*

• Precision movement • Digital and analog timekeeping • LED subdials • Stainless steel crown, caseback & bracelet • Dual time zone feature • Stopwatch • Alarm feature • Calendar: month, day, & date • Water resistant to 3 ATM • Fits wrists 7" to 9"

Stauer...Afford the Extraordinary.™

TimeOff

Do androids dream of electric sequels?

MORE THAN anything, *Blade Runner* is a story about the end of empire, capitalism at its grim logical conclusion. That is the case for both the 1982 classic directed by Ridley Scott and the long-awaited sequel, *Blade Runner 2049,* starring Harrison Ford and Ryan Gosling. The profit motive has destroyed the environment; the wealthy have fled to interplanetary colonies; and those who remain on Earth—humans and androids alike—live in dense squalor congested by pollution and garish advertisements. And yet, in the hands of director Denis Villeneuve *(Arrival),* it's also beautiful. He spoke to TIME about making the film.

This is a sequel to one of the most celebrated sci-fi films of all time. What did you want to preserve? In the first movie, you were seeing layers of time. In most sci-fi, the world is purely a vision of the future. But in *Blade Runner,* you felt the dirt that was coming out of the ages. I wanted to make sure that we were as specifically true to film noir as the first movie was. And I wanted the atmosphere to carry the beautiful melancholy that was so powerful in the first movie.

How do you update a vision of the future from 35 years ago? Ridley took the main currents of the '70s—the fashion, the aesthetics—and brought them into the future. Me, I had to struggle with a movie that was made in 1982 that talked about 2019. As we all know, there's a difference between the future world of *Blade Runner* and today's reality. I came to the conclusion that I needed to deal with an alternate universe—to start with the world of the first *Blade Runner* and extend it. So I went back to all the cultural references of the first movie and imagined how they would evolve.

One major continuity is the pervasiveness of advertising in this world. I didn't want to come back to the fantastic image of the blimp [in the original]. I felt that belonged to the first movie. I decided to use different technology, like drones that can project 3-D images into the smog, because the smog is so thick. The ads themselves express the blend of cultures: in this universe, the ocean has risen, most of Eastern Asia has been flooded, and there are many refugees from everywhere in the world who've come to Los Angeles.

The environment is a major theme in both films. I wanted to show how human beings are disconnected more and more from nature. There is a lack of humility: we are trying to control nature when nature is stronger than us by far. At the end of the day I don't know anyone who will outlast nature.

And that influenced the costumes too? Winter was the strongest influence here. The clothes were designed to withstand a very harsh, cold environment that shifts from rain to snow to icy rain very quickly. Winter has an impact on people's

BLADE RUNNER 2049: WARNER BROS. PICTURES (4)

Clockwise from far left: The earth's atmosphere is polluted by thick fog and rampant advertising; the world's fashion reflects its unstable weather; the film relied on practical effects—built sets and vehicles—to maintain visual continuity with the original

behavior: you don't walk the same way, you don't talk the same way, you don't think the same way.

How did you deal with the improvements in special-effects technology? It's important to underline the fact that Ridley Scott and Douglas Trumbull's special effects in the original movie are a work of genius. I didn't have to struggle with the same technological challenges as they did. This movie is a blend of very old passionate approach and high-end technology. We built all the sets first, constructed all the vehicles, did all the rain and the snow and the fog with practical effects. All the streets, all the exteriors—we constructed everything.

> 'I wanted the atmosphere to carry the beautiful melancholy that was so powerful in the first movie.'
>
> **DENIS VILLENEUVE**, director

There's a scene where you see a car inside a penthouse—that was real. There was a real vehicle that came inside the room. I feel that CGI is very strong when it's helping reality, helping real shots. But to start just from CGI is not something I wanted to do.

These movies envision a future of decay. But their visual majesty conveys a certain optimism. Is this an optimistic film? I think so. For me, one of my goals was to create a bleak world with strong sparks of beauty coming out of it. That's why the first sequence, where Officer K (Gosling) is flying toward Los Angeles, is a gray, overcast, dark, austere landscape with winter light. Suddenly you have sparks of light coming out of the landscape's technology, and that creates beauty. The humanity of the characters creates beauty. It's a movie that I feel has, in a strange way, an optimistic ending. And I'm glad about that, because I need to have that kind of optimism in the world today. —NASH JENKINS

REVIEW

2049 is a love letter to *Blade Runner*

SO MANY MOVIES TODAY HAVE A million near-endings, each promising, "But wait, there's more!" There are a million near-endings in *Blade Runner 2049,* Denis Villeneuve's sequel to Ridley Scott's 1982 future-noir *Blade Runner,* and some are O.K. Shot by cinematographer Roger Deakins, this is also a handsome picture: it echoes the first movie's somber, rain-misted L.A., only with additional strata of despair and wistfulness.

But there's enough story here for three sequels, and not even the capable shoulders of its star, Ryan Gosling—as K, a future-world LAPD officer charged with seeking and destroying androids, or replicants—can carry all of it. Early on, K endures a bone-crushing encounter with one of his targets (Dave Bautista, who maximizes just a few slender minutes of screen time); reports back to his no-nonsense, no-makeup-wearing boss (Robin Wright, groovy in her sternness); and goes home to his hologram girlfriend (Margaret Keane–eyed Ana de Armas), a charmer programmed to genuinely care about what kind of day he's had. She's prepared a meal of make-believe steak frites tantalizingly superimposed over his real dinner, a bachelor's bowl of drab brown noodles. Later Harrison Ford reprises the role of Rick Deckard, though he too eventually gets lost in endlessly breaking waves of plot.

That's not to say there aren't some inspired touches. The best of them is a retro-modern jukebox that looks like one of those old Victorian glass bells with a mini hologram of one of the great singers of the 20th century inside. His crooning is like the signal from a ghostship calling through the years. Old movies send out those types of signals too. Our job, when watching a sequel, is to sort of remember and sort of forget what came before. *2049* doesn't make us sort of forget enough.

—STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

MOVIES

A slice of childhood heaven in the Sunshine State

THE IDEA OF CHILDHOOD wonder was invented, after the fact and in their typical, boring way, by adults. Kids have no idea they're feeling wonder—just *feeling* it is the thing. That's the lightning in a bottle captured by director Sean Baker in *The Florida Project*. Six-year-old Moonee (the preternaturally joyous Brooklynn Prince) is an ebullient kid living with her chronically unemployed mother Halley (Bria Vinaite) in a purple budget motel on the fringes of Orlando. It's called the Magic Castle, a non-copyright-infringing riff on Disney World's nearby Magic Kingdom, though it may as well be a continent away.

Moonee has no idea about that, and she lives her days as childhood days are meant to be lived, scampering around the sunny asphalt neighborhood with her best friends Scooty and Jancey (Christopher Rivera and Valeria Cotto), sassing the grownups and cadging free ice cream at the local soft-serve joint. Halley, a tough-talking sylph with a robust scattering of tattoos and cellophane-blue hair, is practically a kid herself. She covers Moonee with sunbeams of love, even while she can barely take care of her. To get by, Halley sells cheap perfume, bought wholesale, to rich tourists, and when that doesn't work, she turns to selling something else.

Moonee is played with infectious childhood glee by Prince

The Magic Castle's long-suffering manager, Bobby (Willem Dafoe in a sturdy, understated performance), feigns exasperation with this scrappy yet fragile family, but he guards them too. Baker makes us feel the same protectiveness: you're likely to watch *The Florida Project* anxiously, waiting for the inevitable terrible thing to happen. But trust Baker (director of the glorious 2015 working-girl comedy *Tangerine*). He's too openhearted a filmmaker to punish us with unleavened realism. *The Florida Project* is both radiant and unsentimental. When Moonee takes Jancey on a day-trip adventure, the afternoon is almost spoiled by rain—but then the sun comes out as they stand before a field of placid, mooing cows. "See?" Moonee tells her friend. "I took you on a safari." This magic kingdom of her making becomes ours too. —STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

THE GANG'S ALL HERE
Director Sean Baker encouraged his cast to improvise, using Hal Roach's "Our Gang" shorts as an example of what he wanted.

MOVIES

Faces Places: Two artists hit the road

THE 89-YEAR-OLD BELGIAN-born filmmaker Agnès Varda *(The Gleaners and I, Cléo from 5 to 7)*, one of the few female directors to be associated with the French New Wave, has been working steadily since she began making documentary shorts in the 1950s. Her latest, *Faces Places*, co-directed with 34-year-old French street artist JR, is as vital as anything she's ever made. It's a wondrous work that connects people with the landscape they inhabit—and carves out a small place in that landscape for the artist.

Varda and JR travel the French countryside in JR's truck, a roving mini portrait studio outfitted to print very large pictures, meeting people and listening to their stories. The jumbo portraits they snap are then mounted by JR and his assistants—with Varda's eye as a guide—on the sides of buildings, or around giant water tanks, or even, in one case, on a former Nazi bunker lying askew on a beach in Normandy. Through it all, the seasoned artist and the young one banter and spar. The affection between them is the film's heart and its motor, a story of two people looking at the world, facing forward together. —S.Z.

THE FLORIDA PROJECT: A24; OUR GANG: CBS/GETTY IMAGES; FACES PLACES: COHEN MEDIA GROUP; WILL & GRACE: CHRIS HASTON—NBC/GETTY IMAGES

Will & Grace *ignores the 2006 finale to bring the gang back together*

TELEVISION

Will & Grace hasn't changed much. And that's just fine

THE FIRST THING YOU NEED TO KNOW ABOUT THE NEW *Will & Grace* is that they've updated the theme song. Presumably you'll be more curious about, say, how the show's signature rat-a-tat comic timing holds up after more than a decade off the air. Or how it explains away a finale that would make the show's current existence as an ensemble comedy impossible. But really, the music says it all. The show replaces the song's already-way-too-much Liberace-esque, pounding piano chords with a jazzy orchestra. The aim is to make it sound bigger and more spectacular, but the result is a little off.

When we left Will and Grace (Eric McCormack and Debra Messing) in 2006, they were on the verge of spending 18 years apart, explained in a flash-forward showing them married and dropping off their kids at the same college. The new *Will & Grace* takes an industrial-size eraser to all that, declaring that the kids—a long-held dream that consumed seemingly seasons' worth of plot—were just a vision that pill-addicted Karen (Megan Mullally) had. The spouses? They were real, but both marriages ended in divorce. Will and Grace are free to frolic. But both characters, unmoored from their histories, seem frantic in their pitching of hit-or-miss punch lines.

Some of the humor is tired in comforting ways. Karen and Jack (Sean Hayes), two of TV's most ingenious supporting characters, sparkle with all their old wit. And it doesn't seem like a net loss to have four queer or queer-ally characters on network TV these days. So forget the horrid theme song. The tune that runs through my mind is a gay club hit from 1999, just after the show first premiered: "It's Not Right but It's Okay." —DANIEL D'ADDARIO

WILL & GRACE *airs on NBC on Thursdays at 9 p.m. E.T.*

VIRAL PRIME TIME
The *Will & Grace* reboot seemed inevitable once an election-pegged YouTube video featuring the cast became a viral hit. It proved that these characters were missed.

TELEVISION

Sedgwick as a tormented hard-ass

"I HAVE A REALLY HARD time relaxing my mind," TV producer Jane Sadler (Kyra Sedgwick) tells her young daughter Lake (Abigail Pniowsky) in ABC's new crime drama *Ten Days in the Valley.* She's not kidding—the moment is a brief mutual confession between mother and child before Jane heads to her writer's shed for a session fueled by both uppers and downers. Somewhere in the haze, Lake goes missing. Jane, trying to get ahead of the situation, lies to the cops.

Dissembling comes too easily to Jane, a character who we learn early on is battle-hardened by divorce and Hollywood. Both help explain why she doesn't initially take her daughter's disappearance with the appropriate gravity; she assumes her ex-husband (Kick Gurry) took Lake and—even as the mystery proves less easily cracked than she'd hoped—she can't let her reserve fall in front of her cast and crew.

Sedgwick, an Emmy winner for police procedural *The Closer,* is as tough as ever here, giving the audience few inherently sympathetic traits. That makes her all the more compellingly real, especially for a network drama—a genre that's retreated further into safety in the cable and streaming eras. Jane can't allow herself to slow down, despite the warning signs. Her relentlessness endangers her case and makes for taut and tart viewing. —D.D.

TEN DAYS IN THE VALLEY *airs on ABC on Sundays at 10 p.m. E.T.*

United States Postal Service

2017 Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation

1. Publication Title: TIME
2. Publication Number: 865800
3. Filing Date: October 1, 2017
4. Issue Frequency: Published weekly, except for two skipped weeks in January and one skipped week in March, May, July, August, September and December due to combined issues
5. Number of Issues Published Annually: 44
6. Annual Subscription Price: $49.00
7. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication: 225 Liberty St., New York, NY, 10281-1008
8. Complete Mailing Address of Headquarters or General Business Office of Publisher: 225 Liberty St., New York, NY,10281-1008
9. Full Name and Complete Mailing Address of the Publisher, Editorial Director & Chief Content Officer :
   Publisher: Time Inc., 225 Liberty St. New York, NY 10281-1008; Rich Battista, President & CEO.
   Editorial Director: Nancy Gibbs, 225 Liberty St., New York, New York 10281-1008
   Chief Content Officer: Alan Murray, 225 Liberty St. New York, NY 10281-1008
10. Owner : The owner is Time Inc., 225 Liberty St., New York, New York 10281-1008
11. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or
    Holding 1 percent or more of Total amount of Bonds, Mortgages, or Securities:

To the best knowledge of Time Inc., the names and addresses of stockholders beneficially owning one percent or more of the common stock of Time Inc. as of March 31, 2017 (according to 13F filings with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission) are as follows:

BlackRock Fund Advisors 400 Howard St. San Francisco California 94105-2228
Fairpointe Capital, LLC One N. Franklin, #3300 Chicago Illinois 60606
The Vanguard Group, Inc. 100 Vanguard Blvd. Malvern Pennsylvania 19355
Dimensional Fund Advisors, L.P. (U.S.) Palisades W., Bldg., One 6300 Bee Cave Rd. Austin Texas 78746
Omega Advisors 810 Seventh Avenue New York New York 10019
State Street Global Advisors (SSgA) One Lincoln St., 27th Fl. Boston Massachusetts 02111-2900
Thrivent Asset Management, LLC 625 Fourth Avenue South Minneapolis Minnesota 55415-1624
Renaissance Technologies, LLC 800 Third Avenue New York New York 10022
Schroder Investment Management, LTD 31 Gresham Street London UK EC2V 7QA
J.P. Morgan Investment Management, Inc. 270 Park Ave., 8th Fl. New York New York 10017
Bank of New York Mellon (BNY) 101 Barclay Street New York New York 10007
Goldman Sachs Group 200 West Street New York New York 10282
Northern Trust Investments, Inc. 50 S. LaSalle St., 4th Fl. Chicago Illinois 60603
Sammons Enterprise Group 5949 Sherry Ln # 1900 Dallas Texas 75225
BNP Paribas 525 Washington Blvd # 600 Jersey City New Jersey 07310
Point72 510 Madison Avenue New York New York 10022
Norges Bank Investment Management (Norway) BANKPLASSEN 2, P.O.BOX 1179 SENTRUM
Oslo Norway NO-0107
TIAA-CREF 750 Third Avenue New York New York 10017
Keeley Asset Management Corporation 111 W. Jackson Blvd., #810 Chicago Illinois 60604
Morgan Stanley 1585 Broadway New York New York 10036

12. Not Applicable
13. Publication Title: TIME
14. Issue Date for Circulation Data Below: August 28, 2017
15. Extent and Nature of Circulation:

Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months

a. Total number of copies: 3,243,007
b. Paid circulation
   1. Mailed Outside-County Paid Subscriptions Stated on PS Form 3541: 2,211,833
   2. Mailed In-County Paid Subscriptions Stated on PS Form 3541: 0
   3. Paid Distribution Outside the Mails Including Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors, Counter Sales, and Other Paid Distribution Outside USPS: 61,120
   4. Paid Distribution by Other Classes of Mail Through the USPS: 0
c. Total Paid Distribution: 2,272,953
d. Free or Nominal Rate Distribution:
   1. Free or Nominal Rate Outside-County Copies Included on PS Form 3541: 805,853
   2. Free or Nominal Rate In-County Copies included on PS Form 3541: 0
   3. Free or Nominal Rate Copies Mailed at Other Classes Through the USPS: 0
   4. Free or Nominal Rate Distribution Outside the Mail: 6,324
e. Total Free or Nominal rate Distribution: 812,177
f. Total Distribution: 3,085,130
g. Copies not Distributed: 157,878
h. Total: 3,243,008
i. Percent Paid 73.7%

Number of Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date August 28, 2017

a. Total number of copies: 3,203,457
b. Paid circulation
   1. Mailed Outside-County Paid Subscriptions Stated on PS Form 3541: 2,159,161
   2. Mailed In-County Paid Subscriptions Stated on PS Form 3541: 0
   3. Paid Distribution Outside the Mails Including Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors, Counter Sales, and Other Paid Distribution Outside USPS: 51,603
   4. Paid Distribution by Other Classes of Mail Through the USPS: 0
c. Total Paid Distribution: 2,210,764
d. Free or Nominal Rate Distribution:
   1. Free or Nominal Rate Outside-County Copies Included on PS Form 3541: 844,017
   2. Free or Nominal Rate In-County Copies included on PS Form 3541: 0
   3. Free or Nominal Rate Copies Mailed at Other Classes Through the USPS: 0
   4. Free or Nominal Rate Distribution Outside the Mail: 5,457
e. Total Free or Nominal rate Distribution: 849,474
f. Total Distribution: 3,060,238
g. Copies not Distributed: 143,219
h. Total: 3,203,457
i. Percent Paid: 72.2%

16. Publication of Statement of Ownership will be printed in the 10/16/2017 issue of this publication.
17. Signature and date: Maria Beckett, SVP Finance, 9/22/17

I certify that all information furnished on this form is true and complete. I understand that anyone who furnishes false or misleading information on this form or who omits material or information requested on the form may be subject to criminal sanctions (including fines and imprisonment) and/or civil sanctions (including civil penalties).

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS
In the event that we are unable to effect the delivery of your subscription to TIME for any reason beyond our control, our obligation is limited to the resumption of your subscription when we are able to do so. If we remain unable to resume delivery within 24 calendar months from the date of interruption, we will have no further obligation under your subscription agreement.

FICTION

A heroine for our time

JENNIFER EGAN JOINED THE WHO'S WHO of American letters in 2011 when she won a Pulitzer for *A Visit From the Goon Squad,* an interlinked-story-collection-as-novel that bucked more than a few conventions. Her new novel *Manhattan Beach* is more conventional in that it's a linear, historical narrative set circa World War II. It's a less inventive book, but many readers will find it more satisfying.

Manhattan Beach, named for the neighborhood in Brooklyn, begins when Anna Kerrigan is almost 12 years old, tagging along with her father to a mysterious man's seaside home. Already there is a plucky danger about her. When the narrative shoots ahead seven or eight years, we find her at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, working along with the other wartime women to measure construction parts. Soon, she becomes the first female diver to repair ships. The work is risky and physically punishing, but also exhilarating: "like flying, like magic—like being inside a dream," Anna thinks during her first dive. (Some of Egan's descriptions of breathing under a 200-lb. suit are just as breathtaking for the reader.) But all is not so lovely: Anna's father has abandoned the family, her mother is solely devoted to Anna's severely disabled sister, and the mysterious man resurfaces in an unexpected way.

Though the prose is exquisite, Egan never lets it get in the way of the story. In bouts of glamour, adventure and violence, she gives the narrative a cinematic feel, while grounding it in Anna's realistic frustrations with society. She wants to be "a different kind of girl," but not *that* kind of girl. Though "maybe *those* kinds of girls were simply girls who'd no one to tell them they were not those kinds of girls."

Anna is indeed a different kind of girl. Though she is rooted in her historical setting, readers of today will find her story of daring and persistence deeply resonant.

—SARAH BEGLEY

The tragedies of 2017 will test the bonds that connect us, now and for years to come

By Susanna Schrobsdorff

IF YOU COULD SEE GRIEF ON A MAP, THERE WOULD BE RINGS of anguish radiating from whole regions of the U.S. right now. From Texas to Florida to Puerto Rico and Las Vegas, the hurt would expand with each person affected to the people they're connected with in all parts of the country. No state would remain untouched by the events of 2017.

The magnitude of the suffering over the past few months is unfathomable to those who haven't spent time in a war zone or in countries where nature's most brutal assaults are even more frequent. Houston and Florida are still reeling from sequential hurricanes. Puerto Rico hasn't gotten to its feet in the wake of Maria. The people of Charlottesville, Va., watched hate march into town and take one of their own—an event from which they're still recovering. Now a man has hauled a cache of weapons into a hotel room in Las Vegas and unleashed a hailstorm of death on concertgoers below, killing dozens and wounding hundreds.

We have run out of adjectives for these kinds of events. Last year's deadliest mass shooting in American history has been overtaken by this year's deadliest mass shooting in American history. The last set of catastrophic hurricanes has been eclipsed by this year's set of catastrophic hurricanes.

These tragedies are accumulating so fast, we forget that many of the ramifications are just starting to unfurl. The hospital staff members, first responders and brave samaritans in Las Vegas will have to learn to live with the horror of what they've seen. Puerto Rico's children may lose a whole school year; if we're having trouble getting them food and water, it will be even longer before they're back in class. And it's clear that the most vulnerable of those hit by the storms in Texas and Florida will struggle economically for years.

ONE WONDERS IF IT'S POSSIBLE for us to expand our hearts and minds to embrace this level of hurt and destruction—a trail of stricken families and communities that stretches from the Gulf to the Atlantic and parts in between. It must be said that the trail of kindness and courage reaches just as far. But I worry that our capacity for empathy has been worn thin and that our attention spans are now so tweet-size that we won't be able to focus long enough on any one of these tragedies to provide long-term help.

We talk a lot about "the resistance" in this battered country of ours, but the most important thing we need to resist now might be the urge to let the next outrage or tragedy erase the images of those who are still suffering. If I were religious, I'd know where to look to find guidance on how not to lose touch with the feeling of connection I had with all those families whose suffering we've seen so intimately. Their lives and homes and hearts have been broken open on our screens; their faces should be etched in our consciousness. But that human link is diluted daily by the torrent of news, insults and scandals. The question now is whether we're capable of a sustained response once the TV drama stops.

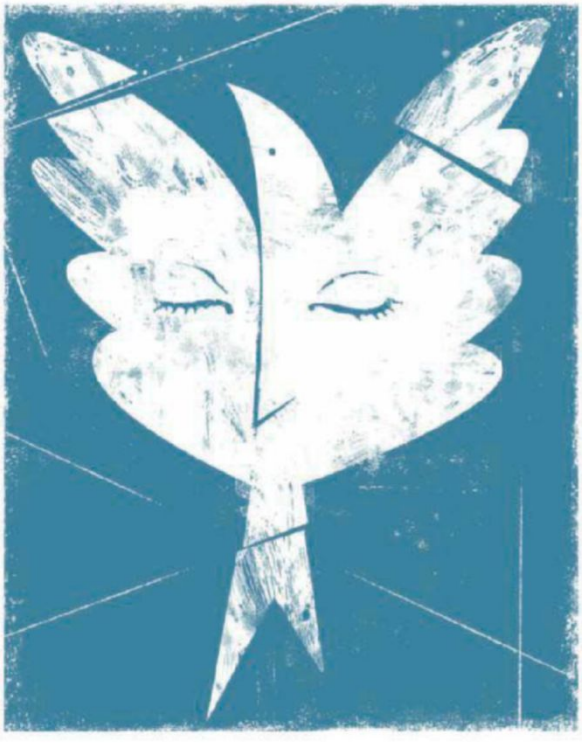


ILLUSTRATION BY EDEL RODRIGUEZ FOR TIME

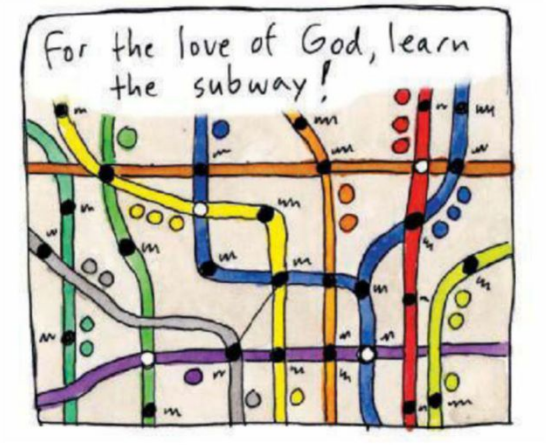
AND WHERE DO WE START? Do you fight for aid to rebuild every crushed community first, or put your efforts into something that might mitigate the damage next time? (We know there will be more once-in-a-lifetime floods and hurricanes and shootings.) Prevention is tough when we can't agree on the causes of these tragedies. It seems pretty obvious to me that we shouldn't have laws that allow almost anyone to buy a machine gun and unlimited ammunition. But that notion is far from universal. We could focus on climate science and how to stop the oceans from warming so quickly, but there again, there will be disagreement.

If all we can agree on is strengthening our ability to respond to disasters, then O.K., let's do that: beef up emergency protocols and trauma centers, build sea walls and houses that can better withstand the inevitable. But just doing that feels like giving up, which would be its own tragedy.

Maybe the answer is for each of us to choose one thing to fix and not let go. Take a tiny piece of a larger disaster and make it your responsibility, whether it means agitating for funding in Washington or sending a holiday package to a child who lost their home or a parent who lost their child. And not just this year, but next year too and the year after. Because that's what it's going to take to heal a nation. □

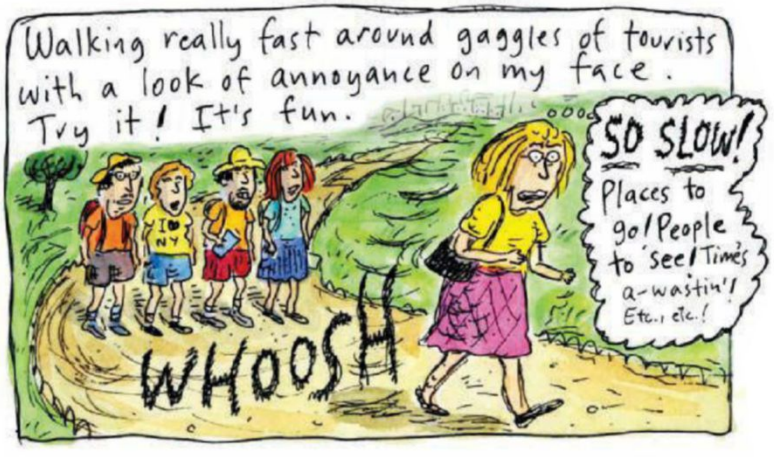
Roz Chast The author of the new graphic memoir *Going Into Town: A Love Letter to New York* on tourists, the subway and pests in her beloved city

What's your No. 1 tip for people moving to Manhattan for the first time?



Many people have written odes to New York City. Why add your name to that list?

What's your favorite thing in Central Park?



What was your worst living situation?

What is the ultimate Manhattan food dish?

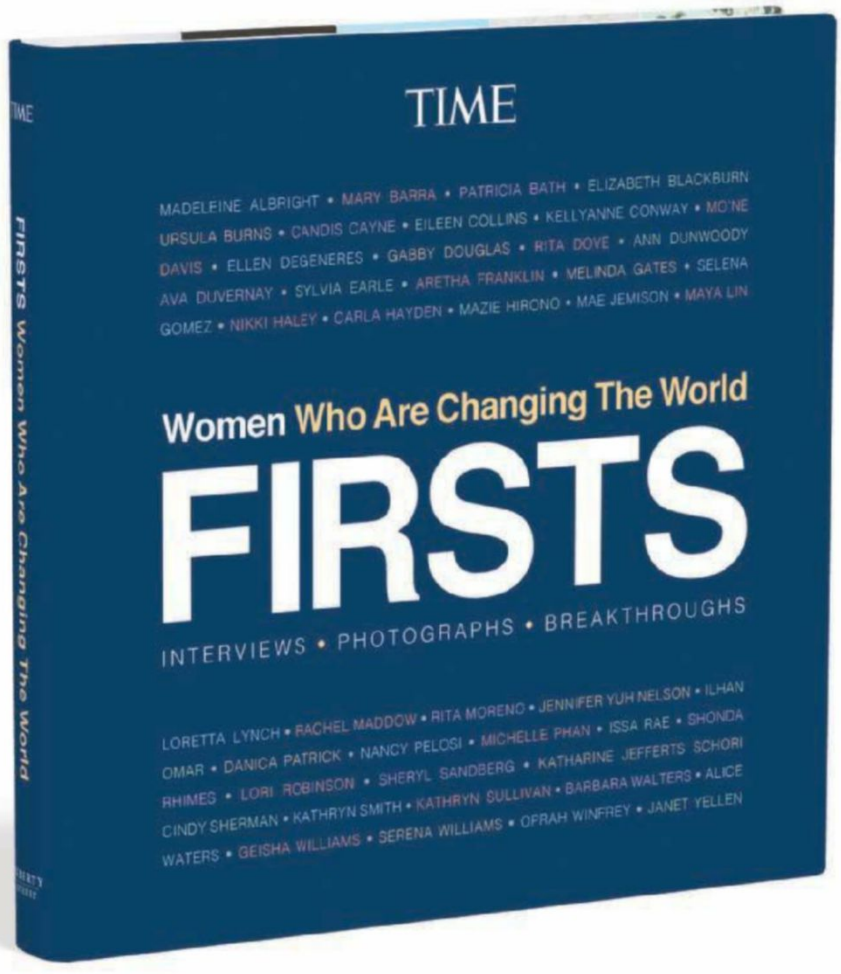
What's your favorite view?

—SARAH BEGLEY

ILLUSTRATIONS BY ROZ CHAST FOR TIME

“My mom always used to say, ‘*Inspire a generation.*’”

—Gabby Douglas, *Olympic champion gymnast*



Inspiring interviews with and photographs of groundbreaking women

The companion book to the extraordinary TIME.com project includes profiles of more than 40 women who have challenged convention and are setting a new course for the world.

AVAILABLE WHEREVER BOOKS ARE SOLD AND FROM TIME.SHOP.COM

To explore the full series, visit TIME.com/Firsts

LIBERTY STREET

© 2017 Time Inc. Books. TIME is a registered trademark of Time Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries

This is LIVING with cancer™

JUDI D, LIVING WITH CANCER SINCE 2012

Today, more people than ever are managing life with cancer

Introducing **LivingWith**, the free app for people living with cancer. Designed to help you connect with loved ones, ask for the support you need, improve communication with doctors and stay organized, all in one place. **#InspirationLives**

Text "**Living2**" to **70989** to download **LivingWith** for free.

ThisIsLivingWithCancer.com

Download on the App Store

GET IT ON Google Play

You will receive one autodialed marketing message per request. Message & data rates may apply. Text "HELP" for additional support. Terms & Conditions: ThisIsLivingWithCancer.com/termsandconditions. Reply "STOP" to cancel. App Store is a service mark of Apple Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries. Google Play and the Google Play logo are trademarks of Google Inc.

Pfizer Oncology

We're Working to Redefine Life with Cancer

PP-ONC-USA-0591-01 © 2017 Pfizer Inc. All rights reserved. Printed in USA/September 2017